THESIS



TRAGEDY OF KARBALA – AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF URDU HISTORICAL WRITINGS DURING 19th – 20th CENTURY

ABSTRACT

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

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ABSTRACT

The sad demise of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) (571-622AD) created a vacuum in the Muslim Ummah. However, this vacuum was filled by the able guided and pious Khulafa (Khulafa-i-Rashidin) who ruled Ummah one after another. Except the first Khalifah, all the subsequent three Khulafa were unfortunately martyred either by their co-religionists or by antagonists. Though the assassination of Hazrat Umar (RA) did not create any sort of havoc in the Ummah, but the assassination of Hazrat Uthman (RA) caused a severe damage to the unity of Muslim Ummah. This was further aggravated by the internal dissentions caused by the assassination of the third Khalifah during the period of the fourth Khalifah, leading to some bloodshed of the Muslims in two bloody wars of Camel and Siffin; Hazrat Ali's assassination was actually a result of that internal strife of the Muslims, dividing the Muslim community into two warring camps. Hazrat Hasan's abdication of the Khilafah tried to bridge the gulf but temporarily, and the situation became explosive once again when Hazrat Muawiyah (RA) nominated his son Yazid as his successor whose candidature was questioned and opposed by a

group of people especially by Hazrat Husain (RA) on the ground that he was not fit for the Khilafah.

The same stand is adopted by the majority of the Urdu scholars justifying Husain's claim that Yazid was not fit for the Khilafah. They argue that he was cruel, wicked, treacherous and drunkard. These scholars also blame Muawiyah for introducing hereditary succession. While another set of Urdu scholars declare Yazid fit for the Khilafah by arguing that he was generous, pious and possessed various noble qualities which a Khalifah should have.

However, difference of opinion on the issue of the nomination of Yazid and its opposition especially by Hazrat Husain is found among some Urdu scholars. Several Urdu scholars like Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, Muhammad Ishaque Siddiqui Nadvi, Dr. Asrar Ahmad, Zafar Ahmad Sialkoti and others conclude that Hazrat Husain was not willing at all to accept and recognize the Khilafah of Yazid on any account, and in order to avoid paying the oath of allegiance to Yazid, he escaped to Makkah to mobilize the public opinion against Yazid's Khilafah. According to these Urdu scholars, when the people of Kufah learnt that Husain had refused to pledge

allegiance to Yazid, they once again tried to mobilize Hazrat Husain as they had been doing during the Khilafah of Hazrat Muawiyah, but Hazrat Husain did not pay any heed to them. But Hazrat Husain's new stand viza viz the Khilafah of Yazid revived the hope of the Kufan leaders who once again sent a series of letters to Husain in which they assured him that they would extend their whole hearted support to him for shouldering the responsibility of Khilafah. Almost all the Urdu scholars unanimously admit that at this juncture, the notables, friends and well-wishers of Husain who were apprehensive of the changing nature of the fickle-minded Kufans advised him not to go to Kufah. But Hazrat Husain remained adamant in his stand and dispatched his cousin Muslim bin Aquil to obtain first hand information regarding the actual position in Kufah.

All the Urdu scholars agree that the mission of Muslim bin Aquil to find out the situation in Kufah was directed by Husain and the Killing of Muslim bin Aquil by Ibn Ziyad was a result of that design.

These Urdu scholars also agree that on Husain's decision to leave Makkah for Kufah, his well-wishers again tried to

dissuade him with their pleas and arguments that such an undertaking would be dangerous not only for his own health but also to the health of the Islamic *Ummah*. But Husain politely ignored their advices and towards the close of the year A.H 60/AD 680, set out for Kufah along with his family members and some supporters.

Several Urdu scholars like Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi and Hafiz Salahuddīn Yousuf hold that on his journey to Kufah Husain stayed at many places and explained his stand to the people he met; many people coming from Kufah who Knew the actual political situation in Kufah, also requested him to go back to Makkah, but he continued his journey. He, however, was convinced to return back when he received the news of the murder of Muslim bin Aquil at a halt near his destination. But many Urdu scholars hold that now the relatives of Muslim bin Aquil refused to go back and impressed upon him to take revenge of Muslim's murder. Moved by their fealty and support which they had extended to him Hazrat Husain decided to continue his journey, and ultimately his caravan

reached Karbala where he was encircled by the army of Ibn Ziyad, the governor of Kufah.

Almost all the Urdu scholars unanimously hold that at Karbala after losing his confidence in Kufans and becoming aware of the changed conditions, Husain offered to the governor of Iraq to either allow him to return back to Makkah or to send him to join the Muslim armies to fight for the Muslim state at some frontier or to allow him to go to Yazid at Damascus. However, the opinion of some later Urdu scholars varies regarding the second and third proposal Husain offered. Moreover, majority of the Urdu scholars agree that Ibn Ziyad refused and insisted on Husain's unconditional surrender. There were only two options left for Husain i.e., either to surrender or to fight. He however, preferred death to surrender.

Since the three proposals suggested by Hazrat Husain had implications for those who believe in the *Imamat* of Husain, for he was, in fact ready to accept Yazid as Khalifah and was willing to renounce his whole mission are not acceptable to them therefore they reject them calling them unhistorical and untenable.

All the Urdu Scholars as well as historians hold that the battle of Karbala ended with the death of Husain and his male companions, who included several of his sons and cousins. These scholars also hold that the numbers of martyrs who laid down their lives with Hazrat Husain were seventy two. Thus the day on which this tragedy befell was 10th Muharram 61 AH/10th October 680 AD.

Majority of the Urdu scholars claim that Husain's head was severed from his body. There is however a different opinion adopted by a section of Urdu scholars who also differ on the issue of the burial place of Husain's head. But the most probable burial place according to a set of scholars like Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, Muhammad Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui, Abu Bakar Ghaznavi, Arshad Amanullah and some others is Madinah's famous graveyard i.e., Jannat al-Baqih.

The treatment of Husain's head after his death is another example of difference of opinions, and more importantly the question who was responsible for the whole tragedy: Yazid or Ibn Ziyad? On the first issue many scholars like Abul Ala Maududi, Abul Kalam Azad, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi, Rashid Akhtar

Nadvi and several others hold that both Yazid and Ibn Ziyad did strike the head of Husain. But some scholars like Abu Bakar Ghaznavi and Taha Husain claim that the incident took place at Damascus. On the other issue different views are found; some of these scholars blame Ibn Ziyad only, absolving the Umayyad Khalifah, while others put all blame on the shoulders of Yazid. But several scholars like Khurshīd Ahmad Fariq, Aslam Jairajpuri, Hamiduddīn, Qazi Zainul Abidin, Fazl Ahmad, M.Y.M. Siddiqui, Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi are of the view that Yazid declared that this all took place without his concurrence; neither he had intended Husain's death nor ordered such a thing and that Obaidullah had exceeded his orders. Instead he (Yazid) wept and said:

"These are my close relatives. If Ibn Ziyad had ever been related to Husain he could never have committed this nefarious act. I should have been very well pleased with Kufans without the death of Husain; God may curse the son of Sumayya. If I had captured Husain, I would have forgiven him".

Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Athīr, Ibn Asakir and several other scholars of the past also support this. Majority of the Urdu scholars agree that the surviving members of the family of Hazrat Husain were brought before Yazid, he treated them kindly and sent them under a safe convoy to Madinah.

Despite the difference of opinion on the question of the tragedy of Karbala, it must be admitted that it is one of the most tragic chapters of Islamic history. It was never expected or even thought that such a harsh treatment would be meted out to the beloved grandson of Prophet Muhammad (SAW).

The news of Husain's martyrdom was received with a great shock by the Islamic world especially in Hijaz where the people were greatly grieved. After its immediate effects the tragedy of Karbala left lasting impressions and impact on both the contemporary as well as on the later Muslims. A wave of hatred spread all over against the Umayyads. Several scholars like Sarwat Saulat, Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi and Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi claim that the root cause of the incident of Harrah was the tragedy of Karbala. Majority of the Urdu scholars including Abul Ala Maududi, Sayyid Amīr Ali, Ghulam Rasul Mohr, Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi, Sarwat Saulat, Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, Abul Kalam Azad and

Murtaza Ahmad Khan hold that after its immediate effects the people of Madinah rose against the Umayyads and with the result the Syrian army first came to Madinah, killed many men and caused severe damage to the town. Then they proceeded to Makkah and besieged the town and damaged Kabah. However, there is difference of opinion among the scholars regarding this issue. The scholars like Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi and Mir Mahmud Ali Qaisar claim that after the tragedy of Karbala there remained peace and harmony for three years. Whatever the facts, Ali Ahmad Banarsi, Abbasi, M.Y.M. Siddiqui and some others conclude that the incident of Harrah has been misinterpreted and derogatory reports have been put forth due to the prejudice and bigotry of some authors.

Besides, several scholars like Muhammad Ishaque Siddiqui Nadvi, Dr. Asrar Ahmad, Abbasi, Hafiz Salahuddīn Yousuf, Arshad Amanullah and Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui hold that both the tragedy of Karbala and the incident of Harrah were a conspiracy of Sabā'īs against Yazid and Muslim rule.

It was because of the tragedy of Karbala that many movements generated in the Muslim world. Due to the

emergence of these movements the intercommunity clashes and conflicts resulting in wars took a heavy toll of life. Moreover, these events were the major factors in the overthrow of Umayyad rule.

Whatever may be the historical consequence of the tragedy of Karbala, as many Urdu scholars hold and maintain, that one thing is quite clear that it divided the Muslims into two hostile camps for all time to come. Thus Muslims were broadly divided under the popular denomination of Shiah and Sunni sects. This division was harmful to the progress and prosperity of future Islam. But this interpretation is partly true for a great majority of Sunnis also deplore and criticize the Umavi Khalifah and his government for the great tragedy.

The Urdu writings during 19th and 20th century frame different judgements and exhibit divergent approaches to the tragedy of Karbala, which may be categorized as follows:

There appear however, three categories of these writers who are influenced by a particular school of thought and have brought forward a different picture of the scenario which resulted in a varied spectrum of socio-religious consequences in the post war era.

The approaches of these different writers regarding the tragedy of Karbala have been classified in the following three categories:

- 1. Pro-Ahl-i-Bait
- 2. Pro-Khilafah
- 3. Moderate.

The Pro-Ahl-i-Bait writers justify Husain's attempts and have maintained almost common opinion regarding the whole event. Their view point is generally accepted by the Muslim *Ummah*. The pro-Khilafah writers support the candidature of Yazid for the Khilafah. They resist the moves of Husain and equate it as a revolt against the established Khilafah of Yazid. While the Moderates are fair towards both the disputants and have maintained a balance in their writings.

However, the historical fact about the tragedy of Karbala is that it is the outcome of the ugly political developments which took place after the assassination of Hazrat Uthman (RA), the third Khalifah of Islam. The martyrdom of Husain created chaos and in no way this incident was beneficial for the Muslim *Ummah* and Islam as well. In fact the tragedy of

Karbala caused ideological flux in the Muslim intelligentsia upto the present times.

The need of time is that one must not see history through a specific point of view. The duty of a historian is to put forward facts whatever they may be. Instead of Islamizing or de-Islamizing history one must present history as it is. Even Islamic history must be kept away from the sectarian bias.





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ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
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2003



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Dated 16.03.2004.

Certificate

It is certified that the Thesis entitled "Tragedy of Karbala - An Analytical Study of Urdu Historical Writings During 19th-20th Century" submitted by Mr. Fayaz Ahmad Bhat for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Islamic Studies of the Aligarh Muslim University, is an authentic record of research work carried out under my supervision and guidance. The work embodied in this thesis has not been submitted in part or full to any other university or institute for the award of any degree.

Professor, M. Y. M. Siddiqui

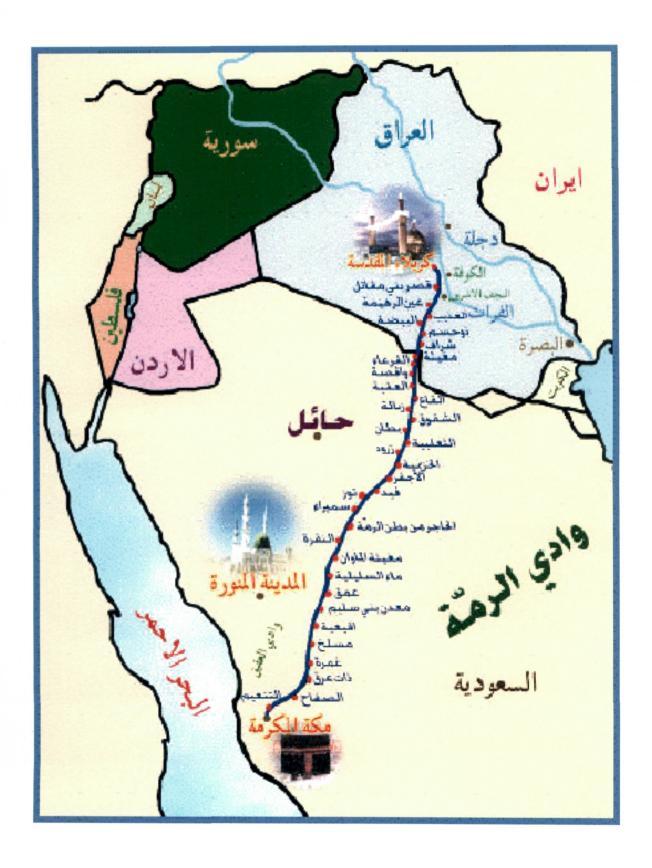
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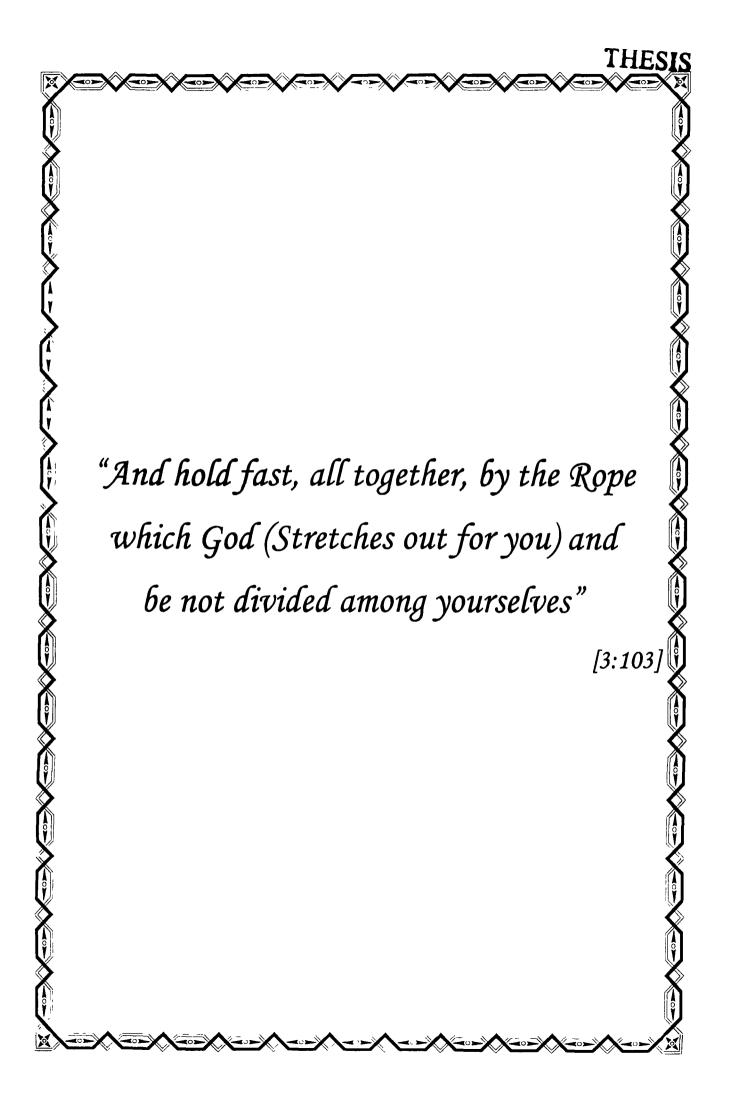
"Dear is the memory of those who depart"

Dedicated

To a woman who is behind my every success

Who is none other than my beloved Mother (Late Zaynab Begum)





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"In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful"

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Forgaz Ahmad Bhat

Scheme of Transliteration

| 1 | a | j | z | 9 | o,v,w |
|----------|----|--------------|----------|-------------|------------|
| ب | b | J | s | æ | h |
| ¥ | p | ش | sh | ý | , |
| ت | t | ص | s | ی | i,y |
| ٹ | t | ض | dh,z | <u>d</u> | iyy |
| ث | Th | b | <u>t</u> | | bh |
| ઢ | J | ظ | <u>z</u> | <i>b.</i> , | ph |
| ઢ | ch | ٤ | • | ρĞ | th |
| ζ | h | Ė | gh | Ď | th |
| ż | kh | ن | f | ß. | jh |
| , | d | ؾ | q,qu | ď, | ch |
| ; | d | 5 | k | נפ | <u>dh</u> |
| ; | dh | گ | g | ۇ ھ | <u>dh</u> |
| , | r | J | I | DD J | rh |
| ; | r | (| m | ל מ | <u>rh</u> |
| ; | Z | ك | n | 6 | <u>k</u> h |
| | | | | ď | gh |

| Long Vowels | | Short Vowels | | Dipthongs | | | |
|-------------|--------|--------------|----------|-----------|---|---|---------------------------|
| 1 | | ā | | a | 9 | _ | Arabic/Persian/Urdu aw/au |
| ĩ | | ā | 7 | i | ی | 7 | Arabic/Persian/Urdu ay/ai |
| ی | 7 | Ī | <u>,</u> | u | | | Doubled |
| , | | ū | | | و | | uww/uvv |
| , | (Urdu) | δ | | | J | 7 | iyy |
| ے | (Urdu) | ਵ | | | | | |

Letter φ is transliterated as elevated comma (,) and is not expressed at the beginning.

Letter $\mathcal L$ is transliterated as elevated inverted comma (ϵ)

عن as Arabic is transliterated as *dh* and as Persian/Urdu letter is transliterated as z.

, as Arabic is transliterated as w, and as Urdu/Persian v and as Urdu/Persian conjunction is transliterated as - o

Article ال is transliterated as al - (, | in construct form).

is transliterated as ah in pause form and as at in construct form

Abbreviations

عليه الصلواة و السلام AS صلى الله عليه وسلم حملى الله عنه ؟ رحمه الله ؟ رحمته الله عليه RA

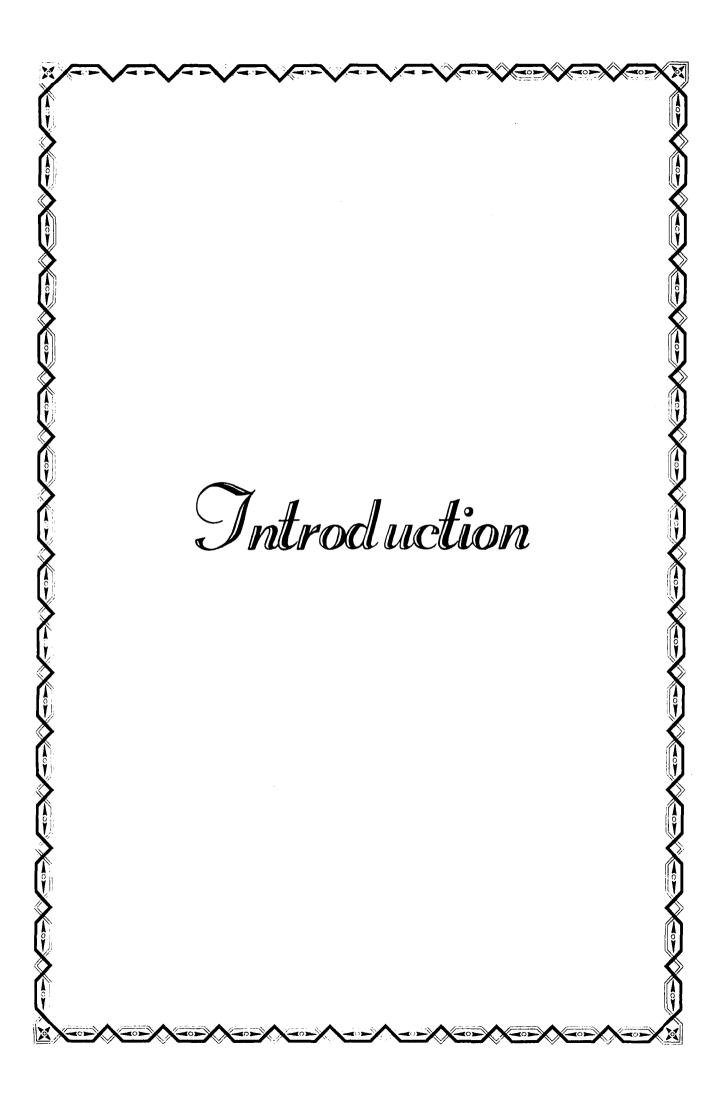
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The chequered history of Islam and Muslims passed through a number of glad tidings as well as upheavals that shaped and at times unshaped the destiny of the believers and other peoples also. From the period of the Holy Prophet SAW (571-632 A.D.) down to the Umayyad Khilafah (661-750 A.D.) Islamic people experienced various vicissitudes of time: conquests and experience of political and religious powers as well as the internal strifes and conflicts. They in fact shaped the Islamic History.

It is a historical fact that the period from Prophet Muhammad (SAW) upto the period of Hazrat Uthman (RA) Muslims never fought among themselves. It was from the period of Hazrat Ali (RA) that Muslims started fighting among themselves, with the result the unity of Islam was lost and the gates of civil war were opened.

A great historian and sociologist Ibn Khaldun states:

"There are the wars that took place in Islam among the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation. It should be known that their differences concerned religious matters only, and arose from independent interpretation of proper arguments and considered insights. Differences may well arise among people who use independent judgement. Now, we may say that in the case of problems that are open to independent judgement, the truth can lie only on one side, and that he who does not hit upon it is in error. But, since it has not

been clearly indicated by general consensus on which side (the truth lies), every side may be assumed to be right. The side that is in error is not clearly indicated, either. To declare all sides to be at fault is not acceptable according to the general consensus. Again, we may say that all sides have the true answer and that "every-body who uses independent judgement is right". Then, it is all the more necessary to deny that any one side was in error or ought to be considered at fault.

The differences between the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation were no more than differences in the independent interpretation of equivocal religious problems, and they have to be considered in this light. Differences of the sort that have arisen in Islam include those (1) between Ali on the one hand, and Muawiyah, as well as Zubair, Talha, and Aishah on the other, (2) between Husain and Yazid, and (3) between Ibn Zubair and Abdul Malik."

The seat of Khilafah since the emergence of Islam was Madinah and the Khulafa governed from this important city of Arabia. After Hazrat Uthman (RA) there was a change when Hazrat Ali (RA) shifted the centre of Khilafah from Madinah to Kufah. The trend got a new shift when Hazrat Muawiyah (RA) shifted it to Syria in his period and governed for twenty years. Yazid who took the reign of Muslim Ummah in his hands following his father Muawiyah, continued to carry out the affairs

of governance from the same place. As there had been a sort of intercommunity clashes just after the Khilafah of Hazrat Uthman, the conditions became worse when Muawiyah nominated his son Yazid as his successor whose candidature was questioned by a group of people especially Hazrat Husain on the ground that his Khilafah was not justified.

This thesis aims at acquainting the reader with the true nature of the opinions, approaches and consequences of the tragedy of Karbala on the basis of historical narrations. In this study an attempt is made to have a discussion on the whole event of the tragedy of Karbala, presenting an analytical study of Urdu historical writings during the past two centuries. The entire thrust of the thesis is to bring forth the different reports and information regarding the tragedy of Karbala especially from the nomination of Yazid bin Muawiyah (RA) upto the martyrdom of Husain bin Ali (RA) on October 10, 680 AD/Muharram 10, 61AH at Karbala. Karbala is a place near Kufah situated about 950 miles from Makkah on the south bank of the river Furat (Euphrates), to the north of Kufah. There can be no denying the fact that every writer has his own way of expression, inclinations and view point, his own ideology and political leanings which determine the framework of his undertaking. He may have a vast library at his disposal, but he may limit his inquiry to works on a particular

theme or topic, and the later writers may also blindly follow him to present the same account and views. But, as the ancient seers have said, that those who take the lead leave a lot to be explored by those who come after them. Historiography always needs an explorer, as a poet has correctly said:

'Never think of a task that the cup – bearer has completed,

The wine has a hundred drinks still untasted.'

The history has to record every event and casualty and historian cannot leave out the narration of any mischance and misfortune, howsoever painful it may be for him. Such events become a part of history: Their exclusion would render history incomplete and deform evaluation of the course of events. There is, therefore, no alternative but to narrate these painful happenings with due apology to those who are aware of the reverence every believer owes to the holy Prophet's household and his family. The tragedy of Karbala has been discussed by the Urdu scholars with different view-points. These scholars are divided in their opinion regarding the issue of nomination of Yazid, claim of Husain for the Khilafah and lastly the martyrdom of Husain and its consequences.

This thesis, which is devoted to the tragedy of Karbala, is almost entirely concerned with the reactions of two men to Yazid's recognition as Khalifah. These two men, al-Husain bin Ali bin Abi

Talib and Abdullah bin Zubair bin al-Awwam, represent two of the most influential Islamic families. They are the sons of two great Islamic leaders and they opposed Yazid's succession. Thus, the central question involved in the Khilafah of Yazid is the constitutional question of succession.

In order to understand Urdu scholar's handling of this problem, it is useful to examine and analyze the sources they used and how they used them. For example, Abul Ala Maududi and others like him concentrate on the opposition to Yazid's Khilafah from Husain and Ibn Zubair.²

A great historian Ibn Jarir Tabari holds that all the sources are agreed on the point that after his succession Yazid was anxious to obtain the oath of allegiance from Husain and Ibn Zubair. He argues that these are leading Muslims, the sons of famous fathers, therefore it was only natural that Yazid should want them to pledge allegiance to him.³ On the other hand, Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi and other scholars like him have concentrated on the acknowledgement of Yazid's nomination by the people of Hijaz, Iraq, Basrah, Syria and other places.⁴ The historians Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Khaldun state that nomination of Yazid was done with the agreement of people on a wide and universal scale.⁵

Several Urdu scholars like Khurshīd Ahmad Fariq, Aslam Jairajpuri, Mīr Mahmud Ali Qaisar, Hafiz Salahuddin Yousuf and Abdul Qayoom Nadvi suggest that in presenting Husain's and Ibn Zubair's reaction to the nomination of Yazid one must not ignore the role of Al-Walīd, the governor of Madinah, in taking the oath of allegiance from Husain and Ibn Zubair. All the Urdu scholars agree on the sending of invitation-letters by the Kufans to Husain. They also agree that the mission of Muslim bin Aquil to find out the situation in Kufah was directed by Husain and killing of Muslim bin Aquil by Ibn Ziyad. Tabari has also given the same account about the killing of Muslim bin Aquil by Ibn Ziyad.

All the Urdu scholars gave a detailed account about the speeches delivered and letters sent by Husain during his journey to Kufah. Almost all the Urdu scholars unanimously admit that the notables, friends and well-wishers of Husain tried their level best to persuade him not to go to Kufah. It is a well recognized fact that these well-wishers of Husain dissuaded him from doing so, reminding him of the proverbial infidelity and fickle-mindedness of the Kufites. Despite that Husain did not pay any heed to them and left for Kufah.

In the historical presentation of the account next major issue is the responsibility for Husain's death. The consensus of Urdu Scholars and historians at this point is that Husain had offered Umar bin Sad, Ibn Ziyad's commander, three options that:

a) He would go back to Makkah.

- b) He would go to a frontier post.
- c) He would go to meet Yazid at Damascus.8

However, there is a difference of opinion among some scholars regarding the second and third option Husain offered.

If these proposals were really offered then Ibn Ziyad's task was over. All he had to do was to send Husain to Yazid. However, majority of the scholars admit that Ibn Ziyad insisted that Husain must submit to him. On this provocating and insulting insistence of Ibn Ziyad, Husain and his party preferred death to surrender.

However, it also had implications for those who believe in the *Imamat* of Husain, for he was, in fact, ready to accept Yazid as Khalifah and was willing to renounce his whole mission.

The treatment of Husain's head after his death is another example of the difference of opinions, and more importantly the question who was responsible for the whole tragedy: Yazid or Ibn Ziyad? On the first issue many Urdu scholars report that both Yazid and Ibn Ziyad did strike the head of Husain. There are also different reports of scholars regarding the burial place of Husain's head. On the other issue different views are found; some blame Ibn Ziyad only absolving the Umayyad Khilafah completely while other put all blame on the shoulders of Yazid.

Scholars like Khurshīd Ahmad Fariq, Aslam Jairajpuri, Hamiduddīn, Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Fazl Ahmad, M.Y.M. Siddiqui and some historians like Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Athīr and Ibn Asakir, are of the view that Yazid treated the surviving relatives of Husain well and declared that if he had been there he would have never killed Husain.¹⁰

Martyrdom of Husain was for a long time problem for the conscience of devout Muslims. He was, after all, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW). For some Muslims its significance is much deeper; Husain served in their eyes as a hero, who by his actions set an example for Muslims that will be always remembered. But at the same time it is also debatable from juridical point of view; all the jurists (fuqaha) and political scientists and thinkers do not subscribe to the example of Husain.

After the martyrdom of Husain, there was a big opposition especially in Hijaz against Yazid's Khilafah. Yazid tried to persuade Ibn Zubair (who got an edge from this event to claim for the Khilafah) and the people of Makkah and Madinah to accept his Khilafah but they refused to submit. The major reason for this revolt was the arrival of Husain's family from Damascus to Madinah. They revolted against the established Khilafah and withdrew their allegiance to Yazid. The same is the case for the battle of Harrah, desecration of Madinah and massacre of its people and stoning of the Kabah. There is a group of Urdu

scholars who try to mitigate the responsibility for these events for Yazid.

Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi and Mīr Mahmud Ali Qaisar hold that after the tragedy of Karbala there remained peace and harmony for three years. In addition to this M.Y.M Siddiqui holds that many writers have put forward biased and derogatory reports that have no bearing on the facts. 12

However several scholars like Muhammad Ishaq Siddiqui Nadvi, Asrar Ahmad, Hafiz Salahuddin Yousuf, Arshad Amanullah, Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi and Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui hold that both the tragedy of Karbala and the incident of Harrah were a conspiracy of Sabā'īs against Yazid and Muslim rule. Whatever the truth, the fact remains that the assassination of Husain was one of the tragic event of Islamic history.

The historians have described Karbala as a brief episode but this event left lasting impressions on both the contemporary society as well as on the subsequent generation of Muslims. It is because of this event that many movements got generated in the Muslim world, and the Muslims were broadly divided under the popular denomination of Shiah and Sunni sects. This event not only caused chaos but also posed a serious threat to the unity of Islamic World.

The tragedy of Karbala is one of the saddest events of Islamic history. To ponder over this tragedy many questions arise such as, why did Hazrat Husain take up the uprising at the accession of Yazid? Why did not Husain call off his mission at Kufah in midway after knowing the changed stand of Kufans? According to some accounts Hazrat Husain took up the stand because at the time of the abdication of Hazrat Hasan it had been stipulated that after Hazrat Muawiyah the succession would revert to Hazrat Husain. No authority for such stipulation is forthcoming. It is also established that Hazrat Hasan abdicated without laying down any conditions. Amīr Muawiyah announced the succession of Yazid during his lifetime. If there had been any stipulation about the succession of Hazrat Husain this issue should have been raised at that stage. The truth of the matter appears to be that on the death of Hazrat Muawiyah the people of Kufah wanted to overthrow the Umayyads, so that the seat of government could once again be transferred to Kufah. The people of Kufah chose Hazrat Husain as their candidate. The issue was merely political and was due to Iraq-Syrian rivalry for power. According to some accounts this issue was the root cause of age-long rivalry between Umayyads and Hashmites which is doubted by a group of scholars.

Whatever the truth, when historical facts are analyzed it appears that Hazrat Husain was invited to Kufah and it was in

response to such invitation that he undertook the journey to Kufah. The revolt in this case was anti-Umayyad in character. The stand of Husain was that the Umayyads had converted the Khilafah into hereditary monarchy and that Yazid was not fit to be the Khalifah. Husain stood for the integrity of the Khilafah. His objection was against the transformation of the Khilafah into royalty. When Husain and his party were half way to Kufah he got the news that things had changed at Kufah. At that time the question before Husain was whether he should return to Makkah or proceed to Kufah. If Husain had not proceeded to Kufah, and had returned to Makkah or proceeded elsewhere, the tragedy would have been avoided. More to it, it may be recalled that, at Karbala, when surrounded by the hostile forces, Husain offered that he might be allowed to return to Makkah or to go to a frontier elsewhere or to meet Yazid at Damascus. The best option among these three seems to be the offer of allowing Husain to return to Makkah however, could not materialize and it resulted in an armed conflict at Karbala, leading to the martyrdom of Husain.

This thesis entitled "Tragedy of Karbala - An Analytical Study of Urdu Historical Writings During 19th - 20th Century" deals with the historical writings of Urdu scholars regarding the tragedy of Karbala. Sincere attempts have been made to have deep insight into the tragedy after a careful study of the available

literature pertaining to this research problem. This thesis is divided into eight main chapters. The first chapter deals with the nomination of Yazid and his eligibility for the assignment of the Khilafah. The historical complications of the Urdu scholars have been screened to provide a brief account of the opinion of pro and anti-Yazid writers. More to it an account of the role played by Mughirah bin Shubah (RA), a Companion of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) is also given.

The second chapter discusses Husain's resentment to Yazid's Khilafah, his uprising and claim for Khilafah and his departure from Madinah to Makkah.

Chapter third tries to understand the overall situation i.e., the invitations of Kufans, Husain's assessment and decisions with reference to the advice of the notables based on their life long experiences. The repeated invitations and requests by the people of Kufah in the context of their support for Husain and later on their betrayal at the approach of Husain has a special mention for being the foundation of the whole tragedy.

The fourth chapter refers to Husain's journey from Makkah to Karbala. The strength of Husain's caravan, the people who joined it, the places of stay, delivering of sermons and developments on the way has been discussed to put forward a clear picture of the whole scenario.

Fifth chapter gives an account of the tragedy of Karbala, which includes the events/reports of happenings at Karbala. Negotiations, armed conflict and lastly the assassination of Husain have also been discussed in detail.

Sixth chapter deals with the post- Karbala developments. In this chapter reports regarding the family of Husain at Kufah, their treatment by Ibn Ziyad, burial place of Husain's head, family of Husain at Damascus and their treatment by Yazid, sending them to Madinah and finally the aftermath of the tragedy are discussed at length.

In the seventh chapter the Socio-Religious consequences of the tragedy of Karbala have been discussed. There is an account of the impact of the tragedy on the contemporary society and on the latter Muslims as well.

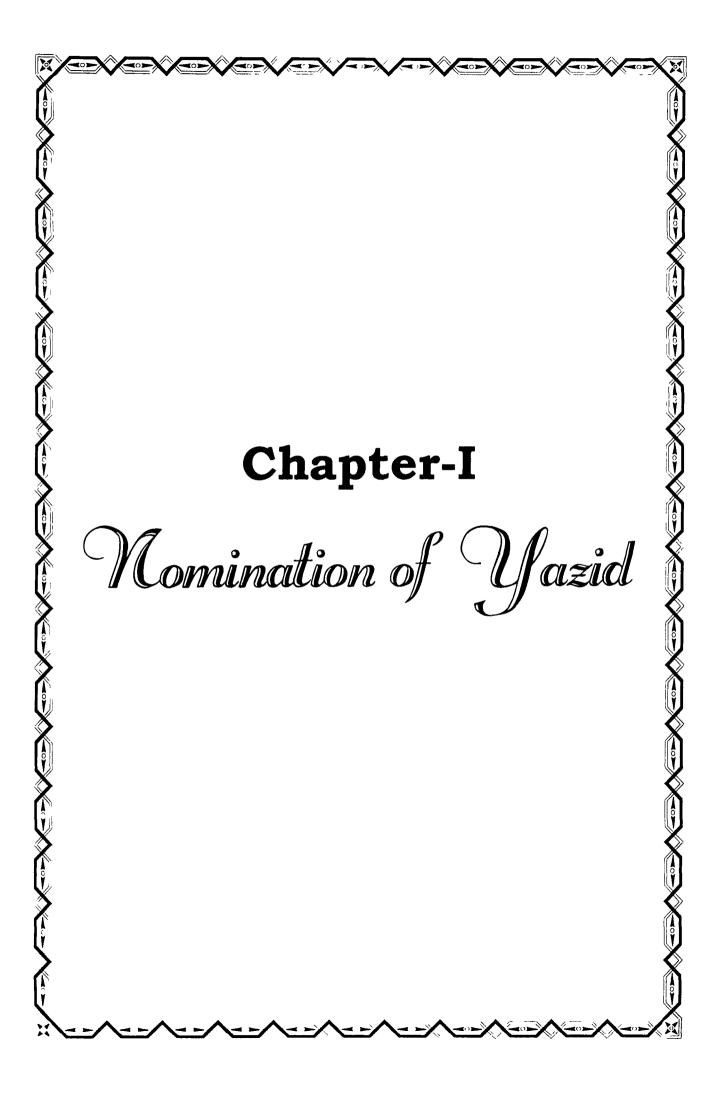
Finally eighth chapter, the resume, summarizes the approaches and view points of the scholars, categorizing them on the basis of their writings into three groups (1) Pro-Ahl-i-Bait: They declare Husain's uprising genuine after drawing parallels between the two, (2) Pro-Khilafah: They favour Yazid's nomination and declare Muawiyah right in his judgement, (3) Moderate: The scholars of this school have adopted a midway in their approach to the tragedy of Karbala.

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Few histories of the period from Hazrat Uthman's (RA) Khilafah (24-36AH/644-656AD) to the death of Yazid successor of Hazrat Muawiyah (RA) and the second Umayyad Khalifah (60-63 AH/680-683AD), have been written by Muslim writers with complete objectivity. Due to the political differences between Hazrat Muawiyah (RA) and Hazrat Ali (RA) over the issue of the gisas (punishment of the assassins) of the third Khalifah of Islam and eventually the political conflict between Hazrat Husain and the second Khalifah of the Umayyads, a saga of Hashimite — Umayyads tribal rivalry was fabricated and personal and political differences of two individuals were converted into deep-rooted prejudices of the later Pro-Hashimite writers especially the Sunni traditionalists and Shiah reporters. Consequently, the historical writings were coloured by fancy, legend, exaggeration and imagination.

There are, however, certain writers and a large number of reports that stand out as indisputable. First, the Khalifah's appointment i.e., succession to the political office of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) had different modes and methods adopted by the notables of the capital city of Islam in conformity to the dictates of time and occasion. On the other hand the Quran had not laid down any rule of the appointment of a successor to the Prophet Muhammad (SAW); neither the Prophet Muhammad

(SAW) had appointed any one to discharge the functions of Government which, due to the establishment of the new state, had become necessary by the complete subjugation of a vast country like Arabia.

Urdu scholars in support of the nomination

The first Khalifah of Islam, Hazrat Abu Bakr (11-13 AH/ 632-634AD) was proclaimed Khalifah by the majority opinion of a number of notables of Madinah assembled at the Sagifah of Banu Saidah - a public gathering place of a family of Ansar, namely, Banu Saidah and Khazraj tribe. Hazrat Abu Bakr (RA) appointed Hazrat Umar (13-25AH/634-644AD) as his successor in the presence of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW). They considered this appointment permissible and also felt by it to render obedience to Hazrat Umar (RA). Likewise, Hazrat Umar (RA) appointed six persons, the remnant of the Asharah Mubashsharah (The ten companions declared by the Prophet as the people of paradise during their lifetime), to be members of an electoral council (Shura); in fact it was a council of candidates as well as electors. By a device that emerged later as a way of consensus of the notables Hazrat Uthman (RA) was declared as the third Khalifah of the Prophet and unanimously accepted by the Ummah.² Hazrat Ali (36-41AH/656-661AD) had been proclaimed as Khalifah by a section of the notables gathered in the Mosque at

Madinah. The election of Hazrat Ali (RA), though carried out under compulsion of the people, resembled somewhat the popular election of the first Khalifah. It should be noted that all these appointments took place in Madinah, which was the seat of the Khilafah. From the time of Hazrat Ali election of the succeeding Khalifah was associated with and followed by controversy and conflict, while the seat of government had been transferred by Hazrat Ali from Madinah to Kufah and then to Damascus by Hazrat Muawiyah (41-60/661-679), who, interestingly enough, was elected by his supporters at Jerusalem, while Hazrat Hasan was declared Khalifah by the supporters of his father at Kufah; this lead to appointment and existence of two Khulafa at one time at two different places. However, the political dichotomy was solved by the abdication of Hazrat Hasan (RA) in favour of Muawiyah after six months and the Syrian governor was eventually recognised as the universal Khalifah of Islam, setting up a new mode of election.

Ibn Khaldun (732-808 AH/1332-1406AD), the great historian in his Muqaddimah writes,

"(The Caliph) is the guardian and trustee of (the Muslims). He looks after their (affairs) as long as he lives. It follows that he should also look after their (affairs) after his death, and, therefore, should appoint someone to take charge of their affairs as he

had done (while alive), whom they can trust to look after them as they had trusted him then.

(Such appointment of successor) is recognised as part of the religious law through the consensus of the (Muslim) nation, (which says) that it is permissible and binding when it occurs. A great number of the men around Muhammad were present on the first and on the second (occasion). That is, when the appointments of Umar and of Uthman were decided. None of them expressed the slightest disapproval. This shows that they were agreed upon the correctness of the procedure and recognised its legality. It is recognised that consensus constitutes proof.

No suspicion of the Imam is justified in this connection, even if he appoints his father or his son his successor. He is trusted to look after the affairs of the Muslims as long as he lives. He is all the more responsible for not tolerating while he is (alive possibility that there might arise evil) developments after his death. This is against those who say that the Imam is suspect with regard to (the appointment of) his son or father, and also against those who consider him suspect with regard to (appointment of) his son only, not his father. In fact, he could hardly be suspected in this respect in any way. Especially if there exists some reason for (the appointment of a successor), such as desire to promote the (public) interest or fear that some harm might arise (if no successor were appointed), suspicion of the Imam is out of the question.

This, for instance, was the case with Muawiyah's appointment of his son Yazid. This action met with agreement of the people, and, therefore, is in itself an argument for the problem under discussion (namely, that the *Imam* is not suspect with regard to whomever he might appoint). But Muawiyah himself preferred his son Yazid to any successor, because he concerned with the (public) interest preserving unity and harmony among the people, (and realized that he could achieve this purpose only by appointing Yazid), since the men who possessed executive authority, that is, the Umayyads, agreed at that time upon Yazid. The Umayyads were then agreeable to no one except (Yazid). The Umayyads constituted the core (group) of the Quraysh and of Muslims. and possessed all superiority the (Muawiyah), therefore, preferred (Yazid) to any one else who might have been considered more suited for the Caliphate. He passed over the superior person in favor of the inferior one, because he desired to preserve agreement and harmony, which is the more important thing in the opinion of the Lawgiver (Muhammad). No other motive could be expected of Muawiyah. His probity and the fact that he was one of the men around Muhammad preclude any other explanation. The presence of the men around Muhammad on the occasion and their silence are the best argument against doubt in this matter".4

However, all the reports of the original sources and the analytical studies made on their basis by the Muslim political

scientists, thinkers and historians, agree that different modes for the election of the first five or six Khulafa of Islam were followed and all have been declared quite legitimate and in consonance with the Islamic teachings.

According to Ibn Kathīr (701-774/1301-1373), Hazrat Muawiyah, like Hazrat Umar (RA) the great, planned to nominate an electoral council to decide the issue of succession to the office of the Khilafah. The proposed panel consisted of Hazrat Said bin al-Ās, Hazrat Abdullah bin Amir, Hazrat Marwan, Hazrat Abdullah bin Umar and Hazrat Abdullah bin Zubair. But it could eventually not materialize; and Hazrat Muawiyah thought it more proper to appoint or nominate Yazid, because the people of Syria and other powerful sections insisted that only Yazid should be chosen. Hazrat Muawiyah consulted all the people of the Islamic world including Sahabah and other notables of the provinces. As several historians suggest that Yazid's nomination as a heir – apparent was done on such a wide and universal scale that no similar nomination is recorded in history.

Several Urdu writers also hold that Hazrat Muawiyah consulted all the people of Islamic world and nominated Yazid as his successor only after their concurrence. Mir Mahmud Ali Qaisar writes that Yazid was nominated with the consent of the whole *Ummah*. He argues that the decision in this regard was taken in the

most peaceful time of the Khilafah with the consent of the respected Companions of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW).8 According to Atique Rahman Sambhali Hazrat Muawiyah was not favouring Yazid's nomination because he was his son but he considered him the most suitable person to be assigned as his successor. Other scholars like Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi. Muhammad Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui, Ali Ahmad Banarsi, Hafiz Salahuddin Yousuf and Murtaza Ahmad Khan hold that all the notables of Islamic world accepted the nomination of Yazid as Muawiyah's successor. In addition to this, Abbasi writes that it were Iraqis who suggested Muawiyah to appoint his son Yazid as his successor. 10 This is supported by another scholar Muhammad Ishaq Siddiqui Nadvi who also holds that the Kufans favoured Muawiyah's successor. He argues that Yazid's Yazid as nomination was suggested with the collective opinion of ahl-i-Sunnah wa al-Jamat that is the core of notables of the Ummah. 11 An eminent Muslim theologian and scholar Maulana Mufti Muhammad Tagi Usmani has dealt with the issue of the nomination of Yazid by Muawiyah. He has discussed the views and opinions of great Islamic scholars like Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, Mawardi, Abi Yala al-Farra Hambali, Ibn Khaldun, Tabari, Ibn-i-Qutaibah Dinavari, Ibn Kathīr, al-Dhahabi, Suyuti, al-Baladhuri, Qazi Ibn al-Arabi, Ibn al-Hamam and Ibn Taimiyah and came to the conclusion that the nomination of Yazid by the ruling Khalifah Muawiyah was done in quite conformity of the Islamic law as well as political sagacity; it was done in fact in the best interests of the Islamic *Ummah* and no ulterior motive can be ascribed to Hazrat Muawiyah. The best proof of the legitimacy of the nomination of Yazid is found in the consensus of the Sahabah and other notables of the *Ummah*. 12

However, difference of opinion on the issue of the nomination of Yazid is found among some early scholars also. The scholars like Tabari, Ibn Kathīr, Al-Dhahabi, and Jalaluddin Suyuti are unanimous over the fact that Muawiyah prayed regarding the appointment of his son Yazid. In this regard Jalaluddin Suyuti on the authority of Atiah b. Kays says that Hazrat Muawiyah prayed and said:

"O Lord, if I have surely made a covenant for Yazid on account of the merit I saw in him, then cause him to arrive at that which I have hoped, and assist him, but if it was indeed the love of the father for his son that hath influenced me, and if he be not deserving of that which I have done for him, then take him away before he arriveth at it." 13

Urdu scholars who criticize the nomination

Hereditary Succession

Many Urdu scholars like their medieval predecessors have criticized the nomination of Yazid and ascribed immoral and

ulterior motives to Hazrat Muawiyah; they very clearly suggest that Muawiyah was led and carried away by his desire to perpetuate the rule in his family and whatever he did in this regard was to bring about a dynastic rule which is quite alien to Islamic Shariah. This thesis has been mainly discussed and advocated by Maulana Abul Ala Maududi in his book *Khilafat-o-Mulukiat*. Many other scholars like Ghulam Rasul Mohr, Sarwat Saulat, Abdul Wahīd Khan, Shah Moinuddin Nadvi, Qazi Zainul Abidīn and Taha Hasain have also taken up the idea and elaborated on the same lines. 14

There is another set of scholars who opine that the nomination of Yazid by Muawiyah heralded a hereditary monarchy in Islam. They hold the view that Muawiyah was the first to establish the hereditary principle of succession. Sayyid Abu Bakar Ghaznavi writes that Muawiyah was the first to establish the hereditary principle. Several other scholars like Taha Husain, Muhammad Abdur Rahman Sayyid Siddiqui, Sayyid Mahmudun Nasir and Ghulam Rasul Mohr hold that the nomination of Yazid was certainly a deviation from the principle followed by the pious Khalifahs. They argue that the system of leadership among the Arabs even before Islam was never hereditary. This was opposed to the old Arab conception and new Islamic ideals. The scholars Shah Moinuddīn Nadvi and Muhammad Abdur Rahman Sayyid

Siddiqui hold that the nomination of Yazid by Muawiyah left untouched the rule that homage must be paid at the moment of succession. In this way Muawiyah achieved a compromise. Theoretically, the will of electors was respected, since it was admitted that they could reject the heir appointment by the reigning sovereign, but in reality it implied the abolition of the elective system, which had been the cause of so much trouble in the past, and in this way introduced hereditary succession. These scholars hold that the dynastic principle was introduced into Islam and the Arabs were henceforth governed after the fashion of the Greeks and Romans, where one Heraclius was followed by another. This is the general view presented by the traditional scholars.

But the fact is otherwise. Historical facts establish beyond doubt that hereditary succession always followed in the political succession of all the posts of the Mala of Quraish, the senate of the Quraysh of Makkah in the Pre-Islamic period and in other political and tribal institutions, as has been critically examined by Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi in his seventh volume of the *Sirat-un-Nahi*. 18

Nomination of Yazid as described by various scholars was a deviation or departure from previous practice. They named it an innovation as well as the institution of Byzantine practice. In this

regard the scholars Abdul Wahīd Khan, Amīr Ali, Sarwat Saulat and Abu Bakar Ghaznavi argue that Muawiyah's innovation implied the abolition of the elective system and was followed by all the Khulafa who succeeded him. This innovation enabled the Umayyads to retain power for ninety years, and the Abbasids for five centuries. 19 According to William Muir, "swayed by the desire of maintaining the Caliphate in his own line Muawiyah entertained the project of declaring his son Yazid, to be his heir apparent."20 The scholars like Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi and Sarwat Saulat maintain that Muawiyah had already decided to found a dynasty, with his son Yazid as his successor. They hold that Muawiyah was willing to nominate Yazid as successor because of the love of father.21 According to Shauk Amritsari, Hamiduddīn, and Muhammad Abdul Hakīm, Muawiyah insisted that the Muslims recognize his son as his successor. They hold that Muawiyah was desirous of maintaining the Khilafah in his own line.22

Role of Mughirah bin Shubah

Opposition

There are different reports regarding the role of Mughirah bin Shubah in the nomination of Yazid as Muawiyah's successor. Some scholars opposed his role in the nomination of Yazid. According to Maududi, Muawiyah had planned to depose Mughirah

bin Shubah from Governorship. In order to retain his post safe Mughirah, immediately left Kufah for Damascus to meet Yazid. He said to Yazid "eminent Companions of the Prophet (SAW) and the notables of Quraish have passed away then why Amīrul Mūminīn is causing delay in taking oath of allegiance in your favour". Yazid brought it to the notice of Muawiyah. Maududi further writes that in the beginning Amīr Muawiyah wanted only that the problem of his succession should be solved in his lifetime. At the time he had no idea that Yazid should be his successor. But it was Mughirah bin Shubah who suggested to the Amīr Yazid's name, and the Amīr liked it. Mughirah also suggested this to Yazid. Thus Mughirah and Yazid both encouraged the Amīr to go forward. He argues that Muawiyah thought that absence of any definite rule of succession to the Khilafah was likely to plunge the country into a confused civil war at the death of every Khalifah. But this was not the sole reason but it was his desire to maintain the Khilafah in his own line.²³ Sayyid Abu Bakar Ghaznavi says that it was Mughirah who suggested Muawiyah to nominate his son Yazid as his successor. Muawiyah should have rejected the plan of Mughirah and followed the path of Hazrat Umar.²⁴ Sayyid Amīr Ali claims that under the instigation of Mughirah, Muawiyah conceived the design of nominating his son Yazid as his successor to the throne. He argues that this was direct breach of his covenant with Hazrat

Hasan i.e., Hasan agreed to abdicate his Khilafah in favour of Muawiyah on the condition that after his death his younger brother Husain would be the Khalifah. Accordingly, on Muawiyah's death, Yazid ascended the throne according to his father's testament. The accession of Yazid gave the death stroke to the republican principle that "The commander of the faithful should be elected by the plebiscite of the people, a principle to which the Arabs were so devoted, and which had led them to ignore the right of the Prophet's family to the spiritual and temporal headship of the Ummah. Henceforth the ruling sovereign nominated his successor, whose reversion he endeavored to assure during his life time by the oath of fealty of his soldiers and grandees.²⁵ Abdul Wahīd Khan on the authority of Jalaluddin Suyuti quotes Hasan Basri who says, "Two men threw into confusion the affairs of the Muslims; Amr, the son of al-As, when he suggested to Muawiyah the lifting of the copies of the Holy Quran on the lances, and it was so uplifted, and Mughirah, who advised Muawiyah to take the covenant of allegiance for Yazid. Were it not for that, there would have been a council of election till the day of resurrection, for those who succeeded Muawiyah followed his example in taking the covenant for their sons". 26 Sayyid Amīr Ali in his Mukamal Tarikh Islam also quotes the above statement of Hasan Basri.²⁷

Lifting of the copies of the Holy Quran on the lances was, interestingly enough, done or introduced by Hazrat Ali during the battle of camel as a tradition of Tabari suggests.²⁸

However, the historians Tabari and Ibn Athir hold that it was Mughirah bin Shubah who for his personal interests instigated Muawiyah to nominate Yazid as his successor. They also argue that in order to retain his post safe, Mughirah suggested this plan to Muawiyah.²⁹

Acknowledgement

On the other hand scholars like Asrar Ahmad, Maulana Aslam Jairajpuri, Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Zafar Ahmad Sialkoti, and Shah Moinuddīn Nadvi hold that Mughirah bin Shubah was a pious and one of the notable companions of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW). They are unanimous upon the fact that Mughirah came to Damascus and said to Amīr Muawiyah,

"I am the eye witness to Hazrat Uthman's Martyrdom in Madinah and the whole scenario gets repeated in me, that what sort of conflicts took place among Muslims regarding Khilafat. So I consider it necessary that you should nominate Yazid as successor. It will be in the interest of Muslims. Amīr Muawiyah had no idea that Yazid should be his successor. After hearing Mughirah's suggestion he first time got his attention diverted towards the issue". 30

Ali Ahmad Banarsi and Hamiduddīn hold that Mughirah, special advisor of Muawiyah, suggested him to nominate his son Yazid as his successor. He also suggested him to take oath of allegiance from the *Ummah* so that after his death the issue of succession may not become a matter of conflict and the *Ummah* may be saved from any bloodshed thereof.³¹

Atiqur Rahman Sambhali on the authority of Ibn Kathīr asserts that the allegations charged by some historians like Tabari and Ibn Athīr against Mughirah bin Shubah is baseless. He argues that Mughirah was the distinguished Companion of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and was known by his piety and probity.³²

The scholars like Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, Muhammad Ishaq Siddiqui Nadvi, Muhammad Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui, and Hamiduddīn, hold that Yazid was forthwith acknowledged as Khalifah in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Hijaz and Persia and all other Muslim countries. According to these scholars except five persons in Makkah and Madinah all took oath of allegiance to Yazid. These five persons were, Abdullah bin Umar Advi, Abdur Rahman bin Abi Bakr Tamimi, Abdullah bin Abbas Hashmi, Abdullah bin Zubair Asadi, and Husain bin Ali Hashmi (RA). Several other scholars like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sarwat Saulat, Ghulam Rasul Mohr and Shah Moinuddīn Nadvi also hold that except above mentioned five persons all took oath of

allegiance to Yazid as Muawiya's successor.³⁴ The scholars like Muhammad Abdul Hakim, Shauk Amritsari, Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Sayyid Amīr Ali, Chirag Hasan Hasrat, Maulana Aslam Jairajpuri and Taha Husain hold that four persons opposed among whom, the two Abdullah bin Abbas and Abdullah bin Umar paid homage while the other two Abdullah bin Zubair and Husain bin Ali escaped from the place to avoid taking pledge to Yazid.³⁵ According to Sa'eedur Rahman Alavi only two persons, Abdullah bin Zubair and Husain bin Ali opposed the succession of Yazid and they disputed the Khilafah with him to their death.³⁶ The earlier scholars like Tabari, Ibn Kathir, and Ibn Khaldun maintain that all except five persons paid oath of allegiance to Yazid.³⁷

However, all the scholars hold that the nomination of Yazid was initially opposed by five or four persons and eventually only two persons Husain and Abdullah bin Zubair never acknowledged Yazid as Muawiyah's successor.

Character of Yazid

There are, however, different reports regarding the character of Yazid. A group of scholars leveled several allegations against him, declaring him not fit for Khilafah, while another set of scholars hold that he was a decent man and quite fit for Khilafah by arguing that he was a learned and pious man.

Yazid fit for the Khilafah

An analytical study of the conflicting reports will give us an insight into the matter. Zafar Ahmad Sialkoti claims that Yazid possessed various noble qualities which a Khalifah should have as a guardian and trustee of the people, to look after the affairs of the people, and so on. The scholars like Aslam Jairajpuri, Shah Moinuddin Nadvi, Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, Asrar Ahmad, Arshad Amanullah and Atiqur Rahman Sambhali hold that Yazid gave up his pursuit of the chase, and took interest in public affairs and qualified himself to hold such an office of responsibility. They argue that Yazid was a learned and pious and had proved his mettle as a general in the wars fought against the Byzantines. The same time and the same and the s

Mir Mahmud Ali Qaisar quotes P.K. Hitti who called Yazid as fata al-Arab (the hero of the Arabs). 40 Ali Ahmad Banarsi quotes Abdullah bin Abbas who says that Yazid was such a great orator who was given the title al-Khatib al-Ashdaq. He took part in Jihad against Kuffars many times and destroyed them. By dint of his utmost bravery and fighting potential he received the title fata al-Arab. 41 According to S.M. Imaduddīn, Yazid was a poet and patron of learning and his sons distinguished themselves in science and arts. Khalid bin Yazid collected books on Syrian and Greek sciences, and started a bureau among the Muslims. 42 The scholars like Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, Hafiz Salahuddin Yousuf,

Muhammad Ishaq Siddiqui Nadvi, Muhammad Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui and Ali Ahmad Banarsi hold that Yazid was pious and generous who lived a simple life. According to these scholars outside conquests are also recorded during the reign of Yazid. Among them several conquests took place in Turkistan and in North Africa.⁴³

Ali Ahmad Banarsi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr who quoting Muhamamd bin al-Hanafiya, Husain's brother, says, "I went to Yazid, stayed with him and observed that he was bound to prayers and was active in good deeds. He discussed issues and followed the Sunnah of Prophet (SAW) with great obedience".44 According to Mir Mahmud Ali Qaisar and Muhammad Ishaq Siddiqui Nadvi, Yazid was God-fearing, pious, virtuous and cultured. They argue that those who called him Fasiq and Fajir (Sinful and debauch), they actually blame the three hundred Sahabah, thousands of Tabiun and other pious Muslims who supported his nomination.⁴⁵ These scholars on the basis of reports they cited declared Yazid fit for Khilafah. Ibn Kathīr observes that Yazid was generous and eloquent, a skilled poet, brave and courageous and an expert in administrative affairs. 46 It is clearly mentioned in the Encyclopedia of Islam that Amīr Yazid was excessively generous and spent thousands of Dinars in granting pensions. He was wise, devoid of pride and hated the pompous life

of a ruler, a friend of the subjects and lived in the company of pious men like Abu Darda. It is stated that he was cultured and generous.⁴⁷ Imam ibn Hambal has included his name in the list of pious men and an eminent religious teacher and philosopher. Imam Ghazali certified him as a true Muslim.⁴⁸ Baladhuri quotes Hazrat Ibn Abbas saying that Yazid was known for his piety.⁴⁹

Yazid not fit for the Khilafah

There is another set of scholars who declare that Yazid was not fit for Khilafah. Maulana Maududi says that Yazid was unworthy to be Khalifah of Islam. He holds that he was a dissipated monarch. 50 Sayvid Amīr Ali claims that Yazid was both cruel and treacherous; his depraved nature knew no pity or justice. His pleasures were as degrading, as his companions were low and vicious.51 Several other scholars like Akbar Shah Najibabadi, A.A. Hashmi, Abdullah Quraishi, Murtaza Ahmad Khan, Taha Husain, Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, Shauk Amritsari, Sarwat Saulat and Muhammad Abdul Hakim are unanimous that Yazid was a man of cruel nature. He was a drunkard and debauch and it is said that he used to go out of his way to violate the principles of Islam.⁵² The Scholars like Sayyid Aulad Hyder, Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi, Sayyid Qaisar Raza Taqvi, Sayyid Nawab Ali and Ali Shariati claim that Yazid was not fit for Khilafah. They argue that he had won notoriety for his addiction to liquor, and his thoughts were also equally steeped in evil. He was swayed by the beliefs of

the Pre-Islamic period of darkness and was not following Islam as the Prophet (SAW) had done. Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr says that what people found most objectionable and which brought him into disrepute was a stigma of being a drunkard, immoral behaviour and certain actions deemed as infringing the *Shariah*. He was not accused of being an apostate or heretic but his manner and morals were regarded as profane and impious. It is alleged that he had earned a bad name for his being fond of singing and dancing, drinking, enchantment and hunting. He is also reported to be fond of keeping company with boys and dancing girls, had hounds and took pleasure in the fights of rams, monkeys and bears. Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi on the sayyid Abul Hasan A

From the above discussion it can be concluded that there are apparently two schools of thought and scholars stand divided in their opinion regarding character of Yazid. One group of scholars levelled several allegations against Yazid, declaring him not fit for the Khilafah, while another set of scholars hold and declare Yazid as a lawful Khalifah by arguing that he was a learned and pious man. They further argue that Muawiyah appointed Yazid as his successor because he was afraid of the dissolution of the whole thing, in as much as the Umayyads did not like to see the power handed over to any outsider. Had Muawiyah appointed any one else his successor, the Umayyads would have been against him.

It therefore seems that taking in consideration ground realities, the majority section favouring the nomination of Yazid

and because of the administrative and organizing capabilities Yazid had, Muawiyah concluded and materialized the fact that by assigning the governance of Khilafah to his son will be in the large interest of the community and in accordance to the norms of election. Had there been any concrete evidence of Yazid being fickle-minded and wicked placed before Muawiyah, he definitely would not have considered his case as his successor for it would have been fatal which Muawiyah as Khalifah would never tolerate. So any such assumption leveled against Muawiyah stands absolutely null and void.

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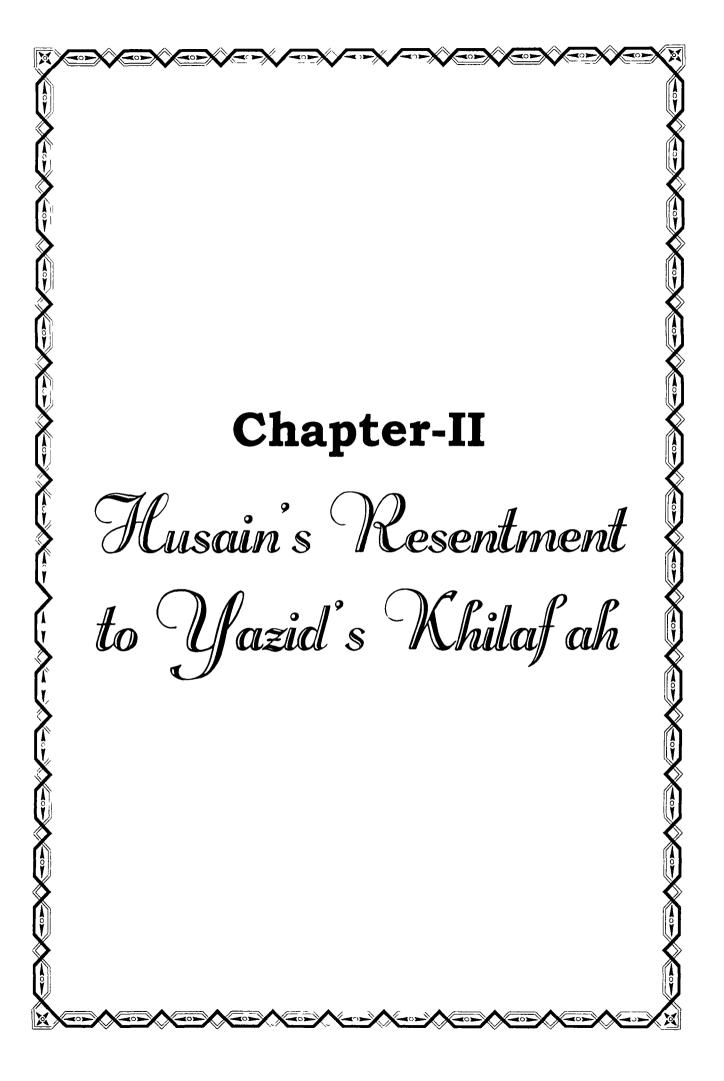
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After a long and prosperous reign, Muawiyah died in Rajab 60/April 680 at about eighty years of age. Since the abdication of Hasan, there had been peace throughout the empire. Wise, courageous, and fore bearing, he held the dangerous elements around him in check; consolidated and extended the already vast area of Islam; and nursed commerce and the arts of peace, so that they greatly flourished in his time.

The nomination of Yazid as Muawiyah's successor was sure to meet with opposition after Muawiyah's death. Atiqur Rahman Sambhali on the authority of Tabari writes that from his deathbed, therefore, Muawiyah sent a message to Yazid, who was absent and was at his hunting place, warning him about the three persons whom he must beware of. The two Abdullahs, sons of Umar and Zubair and Husain son of Ali. The first, a pious devote, would easily be put aside, as for Husain, he continued:

"The restless men of Iraq will give him no peace till he attempted for the empire. The people of Iraq are treacherous and would surely incite him. If he rises against you and you win, forgive him, for he is a near relative of ours and the grandson of Prophet Muhammad (SAW). But beware of Abdullah bin Zubair. He is clever like fox and bold like a lion.²"

However, this shows Muawiyah's love with his greater family Banu Abd Manaf – as well as his political sagacity and diplomatic genius.

According to Sayyid Amīr Ali, on his assumption of Caliphal power and authority in Rajab 60/April 18, 680, Yazid inherited Governors of Madinah, Makkah, Kufah and Basrah in Walīd bin Utbah bin Abu Sufyan, Amr bin Sa'eed, Numan bin Bashīr and Ubaidullah bin Ziyad respectively, and directed them to take the oath of allegiance to the new Khalifah afresh especially from Husain bin Ali and Abdullah bin Zubair, who had not acknowledged him as heir-apparent during the time of Muawiyah. He, therefore, wrote a letter to Walīd bin Utbah, the governor of Madinah, directing him to obtain allegiance from these persons. He wrote the following letter to Walīd:

"In the name of the most merciful God. From Yazid, the commander of the faithful, to Walīd, the son of Utbah. Muawiyah was one of the servants of God, who honoured him and made him Khalifah, and extended his dominions and established him. He lived his appointed time, and God took him to his mercy. He lived beloved, and died pure and innocent. Farewell. Hold Husain and Abdullah, the son of Zubair, close to the inauguration without any remission or relaxation."

According to Abdul Wahīd Khan and Taha Husain, to accomplish this task Walīd called Marwan bin Hakam for consultation. The scholars like Taha Husain and Abdul Wahīd Khan opine that Walid bin Utbah invited Husain and Abdullah bin Zubair with the intention of obliging them to pay oath of

allegiance to Yazid, both of them realized that Muawiyah was dead and having decided to stand by their refusal to make the pledge. In this way both of them refused to take the oath of allegiance to Yazid.⁴

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad asserts that Ahl-i-Bait (family of the Prophet) had a valid claim to Khilafah for themselves. Soon after the death of Muawiyah his son Yazid declared himself the Khalifah since he had been nominated as successor to Muawiyah during his lifetime. Yazid demanded allegiance from Husain bin Ali. As the nomination to Khilafah was contrary to the spirit of Islamic constitution Husain was averse to it and he, therefore, refused to take the oath of allegiance in favour of Yazid.⁵ According to Maududi, when Husain revolted against the established Khilafah of Yazid the majority of Sahabah were alive and the notable Fugaha (Jurists) among the Tabiun were almost present. None of these have stated that Husain was going to commit an unlawful act. All those who tried their level best to stop him from going to Kufah, were of the opinion that the people of Iraq were not trustworthy and Husain could not be successful in his dealings, instead he would place himself in trouble by this attempt. In other words, the opinion of all these people was in accordance with that of Imam Abu Hanifah, developed later on. Maududi argues that the revolt against controversial Khilafah was

not in itself unlawful but it was imperative to look into the issue as to whether there were any chances of improvement or change in the existing system of Governance.⁶

Husain leaves for Makkah to avoid taking pledge of Yazid

Maududi states that Husain was deceived by the repeated requests made by people of Kufah which developed a wrong notion in him that he has got ample representation and support with whom he can set in revolution and decided to leave Madinah. Contrary to this, the Sahabah who were preventing him from this move, were of the opinion that in the light of past behavior of the people of Kufah with his father Ali and his brother they were not worth trust. So the difference between Sahabah and Husain was based on strategies and not because of lack of evidences and reasons.⁷

According to Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, though Husain refused to swear allegiance to Yazid and remained adamant in his decision, the state officials regarded his refusal to be more significant than the rejection of the oath by Ibn Zubair and few others, since they were fully aware of the prestige and influence Husain commanded owing to his kinship with the Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAW). However, reports show that Husain was requested for Bay'ah, but he succeeded in delaying it for two days, taking the leave of the governor of Madinah to think over the

issue. Meanwhile, Husain summoned a group of his supporters and told them to arm themselves. He said to them:

"Walīd has called me just now, and I think that he will propose something which I may not accept. In that event I cannot trust him. You should, therefore, come with me and when I enter his house you should stay at the door and as soon as you hear me speaking aloud enter the house to prevent him from causing me any harm."

This clearly shows that Husain was in no mood to pay the oath of allegiance to Yazid. Other scholars like Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, Atiqur Rahman Sambhali and several others hold on the authority of Imam Bukhari that the Sahabah like Abdullah ibn Umar had acknowledged Yazid willingly and continued in their fealty even after the death of Muawiyah especially during the black days of Harrah. Bukhari narrated on the authority of Nafi that when the people of Madinah broke the Bay'ah (pledge) of Yazid, Abdullah Ibn Umar gathered his family members and servants and said:

"A flag will be fixed for every betrayer on the day of resurrection, and we have given the oath of allegiance to his person (Yazid) in accordance with the conditions enjoined by Allah and his Messenger and I do not know of anything more faithlessly than fighting a person who has been given the oath of allegiance in accordance with the conditions

enjoined by Allah and his messenger, and if ever I learn that any person among you has agreed to dethrone Yazid, by giving the oath of allegiance (to some body else) then there will be separation between him and me."¹⁰

In addition to this Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi on the authority of Baladhuri says that Ibn Umar further said, "Muawiyah's son, Yazid is among the pious members of his family, you sit at your place, obey him and be firm to his oath." These scholars argue that all these narrations clearly prove that all the people accepted the choice of Yazid by their free will.

In this connection a Hadith of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) as narrated by Abdullah ibn Abbas, is also quoted:

"Whoever notices something which he dislikes done by his ruler, then he should be patient for whoever becomes separate from the company of the Muslims even for a span and then dies, he will die as those who died in the Pre-Islamic period of ignorance (as rebellious sinners)". 12

A Shiah Scholar Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi quotes the words of Abu Hanifah Dinawari who writes that Marwan told Walid bin Utbah to entertain no anxiety concerning Abdullah bin Umar and Abdul Rahman bin Abu Bakr who would, in any case, make no bid for the Khilafah. He however, cautioned him about Husain and Abdullah ibn Zubair and asked him to demand from them the oath of loyalty to Yazid and to kill them if they declined to submit, and

that all this should be done before the news of Muawiyah's death came to be generally known, for he opined, if they become aware of the tidings of Muawiya's passing away, each one of them would openly defy Yazid and endeavor to rally support for his claim.¹³

The scholars like Maulana Aslam Jairajpuri, Mīr Mahmud Ali Qaisar, Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Muhammad Abdur Rahman Sayyid Siddiqui, Hamiduddīn and Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi hold that Ibn Zubair fled the following night to Makkah and Husain asked that the pledge should be delayed, under the pretext that, in order to be valid, it must be made in public.¹⁴ These scholars also hold that Husain also said a man like him could not take such an important step alone, so let the people know and see their reaction. Abdullah bin Zubair also wanted a day's time to think over the matter. Walīd agreed. But Abdullah ibn Zubair left Madinah that very night and reached Makkah. Hafiz Salahuddin Yousuf and Khurshid Ahmad Fariq hold that both Ibn Zubair and Husain were feigning time for consideration in order to escape to Makkah. 15 Irfan Faqih and Khurshīd Ahmad Fariq write that these two persons who themselves were claimants to the Khilafah remained adamant till the last. 16 According to Julius Wellhausan, in the meantime both Abdullah ibn Zubair and Husain who refused to take oath of

allegiance to Yazid avoided the Umayyad governor of Madinah and fled to Makkah on 28th Rajab 60 A.H./May, 680 A.D.¹⁷

From the above discussion it can be clearly said that Husain and Ibn Zubair could not tolerate the Khilafah of Yazid and due to this fact they avoided to pay oath of allegiance to Yazid and escaped to Makkah. Had Husain recognised the Khilafat of Yazid by paying pledge to him he could have saved himself and averted the horrors of Karbala.

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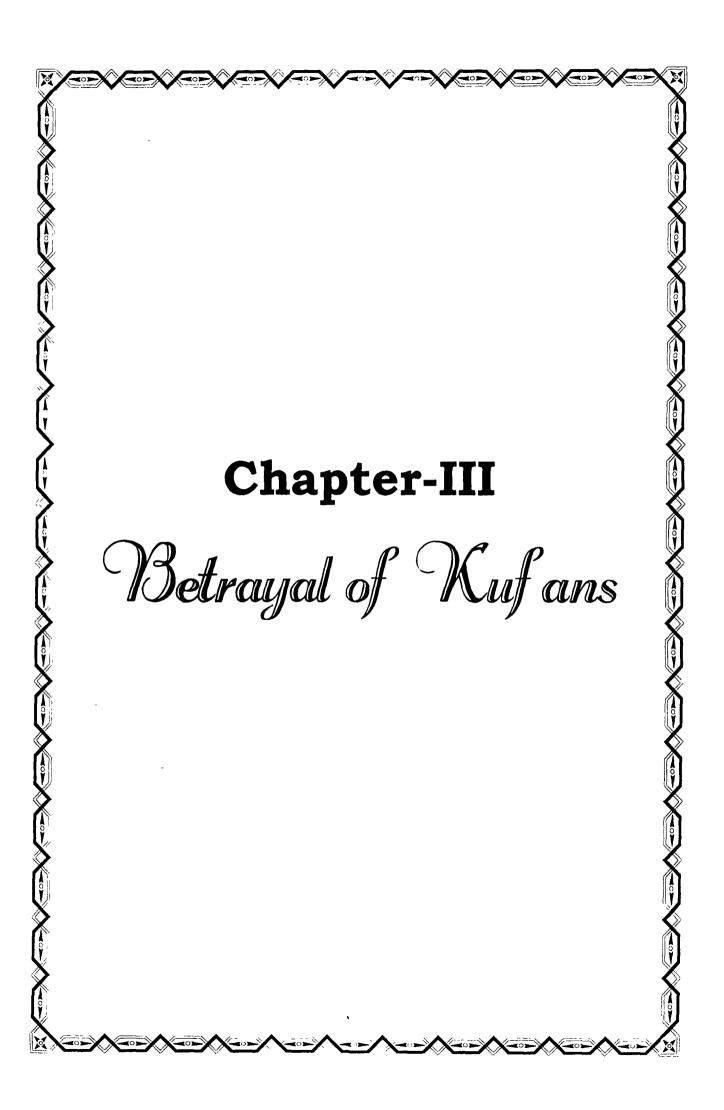
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Husain's call to or invitation by the Kufans

Correspondence, letters etc.

There were many in Iraq especially in Kufah who professed to be the supporters of Ali and his descendents. Hazrat Hasan, it is true, found little support, during his short-lived Khilafah there but the fond and fickle-minded people once again after the death of Muawiyah turned eagerly to his brother, Husain. The news of Muawiyah's death raised new hopes in the minds of such people. Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr holds that the news of the death of Muawiyah was greeted with satisfaction at Kufah, the majority of whose inhabitants were shi'is. Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi holds the same view point and writes that never were the people of Iraq overjoyed than they were at the death of Muawiyah.² Ibrahim Ayati and Hamiduddin write that the news of the death of Muawiyah spread throughout Iraq and the people also came to know that Husain and Abdullah bin Zubair had declined to take the oath of allegiance to Yazid and had gone to Makkah. The Iraqi or for that matter the Kufi supporters of Husain gathered in the house of Sulaiman bin Surad Khuzai and thanking Allah on the death of Muawiyah, they took the stock of situation. On the suggestion of their leader, Sulaiman bin Surad, it was decided to send a letter to Husain bin Ali, asking him to come to Kufah.³

According to Ibrahim Ayati, the letter's contents are reproduced as follows:

"This letter is being written by Sulaiman bin Surad, Musayyib bin Najbah, Rafa'ah bin Shaddad Bajali, Habib bin Mazahir and other Muslim and faithful supporters of Husain residing in Kufah. Praise be to Allah who has destroyed your oppressive and spiteful enemy, the man who prevailed over this assumed unlawfully the nation. reigns government, usurped the public treasury and became the ruler of the Muslims without their consent. At present we, the Iragis, do not have any leader and Imam. Hence, we request you to proceed to us. We have nothing to do with Numan bin Bashir in the matter of Friday and Eid prayers. He is alone in the Governor's house. If we come to know that you left to join us we shall turn him out and shall, if Allah wills, pursue him upto Syria."4

Moreover, they sent this letter through Abdullah bin Sabi Hamdani and Abdullah bin Dāl and instructed them to leave for Makkah immediately. They reached Husain in Makkah on the 10th of Ramzan, 60 A.H. and delivered the letter to him. Qazi Zainul Abidīn on the authority of Ibn Kathīr opines the same and further writes that the people of Kufah learnt that Husain had refused to pledge allegiance to Yazid, they met in a secret meeting in the house of Sulaiman bin Surad al-Khuzai who was their leader. Spirited speeches were made. Finally, it was decided that Husain

be invited to Kufah and on his arrival there should be a general rising against Yazid. Accordingly, the following letter was addressed to Husain:

"Allah's peace be on you. Allah be thanked that He has caused the death of an enemy of yours who was so cruel and haughty, who sowed disruption among the people, who ruled over the people against their will, who slew good people, who made wicked people his comrades and who squandered away public money to further his own interests. We are at present without a leader. Please come so that we might join together for the sake of truth. The governor of Kufah, Numan bin Bashir lives all alone in his palace. We don't offer our Jum'ah prayers or Eid prayers behind him. If we can be sure that you would be coming, we can drive away this man to Syria."5

In addition to this, the scholars like Atiqur Rahman Sambhali and Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi on the authority of Tabari claim that after Sulaiman bin Surad al-Khuzai had done his duty, a letter was addressed to Husain saying: "This letter is being addressed to Husain bin Ali, on behalf of Sulaiman bin Surad, Musayyib bin Najba, Rafāh bin Shaddad, Habib bin Mazahir and other friends from among the Muslims and supporters of Kufah." The letter then dealt with the death of Muawiyah and the succession of Yazid and went on to say:

"There is no guide at our head. Please come so that we might perhaps, unite in helping the truth because of you. Numan bin Bashir is present in the governor's house, but we do not join him in the Friday prayers, nor do we go to the Eid prayer. If we hear that you are coming here, we will turn him out, forcing him to repair to Syria."

These scholars also say that this letter was sent by Abdullah bin Sabi Hamdani and Abdullah bin Dāl, and was the first to be received by Husain on 10th of Ramzan 60 A.H. 680 A.D.

According to the sources, more than one hundred and fifty letters are reported to have been sent to Husain before he yielded. Sambhali and Athar Abbas Rizvi on the authority of Tabari say, that in one of these letters, i.e., the letter dated 10th Ramzan 60/14 June 680, Husain received a letter from Sulaiman bin Surad al-Khuzai and other Shi'i leaders of Kufah asking him to come to Kufah and save them from Yazid's sacrilegious domination. The scholars like Chirag Hasan Hasrat, Hamiduddīn, Murtaza Ahmad Khan, Shah Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi and Taha Husain are unanimous in supporting this statement. They also hold that a flood of letters began to flow, especially, from the city of Kufah, inviting Husain to go there and accept the leadership of the people there with the aim of beginning an uprising to overcome injustice and inequity.

According to sources and the Urdu scholars, these letters set Husain seriously thinking. He consulted his friends and relatives. The general opinion was that the people of Kufah should not be trusted. It was they who left Hazrat Ali in the lurch. Again it was they who took the oath of allegiance to Hasan and went back on it. The friends of Husain who regarded the Kufans as troublemakers and knew them to be unreliable and they were not impressed by these appeals, so they advised him against accepting their offer. The scholars like S.M. Imaduddin who writes that the fickleminded Kufans who once received Hasan turned eagerly to his brother Husain and invited him to Kufah to claim his right. 10

Advice of well-wishers of Husain

His reaction

According to J.J. Sanders and M.Y.M. Siddiqui, Kufah was always anti-Umayyad. In this connection the scholars like Khurshid Ahmad Fariq, Shah Moinuddin Ahmad Nadvi, Abul Kalam Azad and Sayyid Amīr Ali unanimously hold that all the friends and well-wishers of Husain tried to persuade him not to trust the Iraqi's character. Eager, fierce, and impetuous, the people of Kufah were utterly wanting in perseverance and steadfastness. They could deceive him at any time, for they were not reliable. His friends also reminded him of the proverbial infidelity and fickle-mindedness of the Kufites. "They knew not their own minds

from day to day. One moment ardent as fire for some cause or person, the next they were as cold as ice and as indifferent as the dead." Wahīduddīn Khan in his Zahoor Islam writes that Hazrat Hasan had also warned Husain about these fickle-minded Kufans and advised him not to trust the Kufan character as they could deceive him at any time. 13

Urdu scholars like Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, and Ali Ahmad Banarsi also quote Ibn Khaldun's statement regarding the response of the Sahabah of the Prophet (SAW), which may be summarized as follows:

"The men around Muhammad (SAW) other than al-Husain, in the Hijaz and with Yazid in Syria and in the Iraq, and their followers were of the opinion that a revolt against Yazid even though he was wicked, would not be permissible, because such a revolt would result in trouble and bloodshed. They refrained from it and did not follow Husain in his opinion, but they also did not disapprove of him and did not consider him at fault. For he had independent judgment. One should not fall into the error of declaring these people to be at fault because they opposed Husain and did not come to his aid. They constituted the majority of the men around Muhammad (SAW). They were with Yazid and they were of the opinion that they should not revolt against him."14

Several scholars like Abul Kalam Azad, Qazi Zainul Abidīn Shah Moinuddīn Nadvi and Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi hold that it is a well-recognized fact that all the well-wishers, friends and relatives who knew the intention of Husain were extremely perturbed and dissuaded him from doing so, reminding him of the proverbial infidelity and fickle-mindedness of the Kufites. So they requested Hazrat Husain to postpone his proposed journey to Kufah. Among the great ones Hazrat Abdullah ibn Abbas said:

"The people are extremely worried over your proposed journey to Iraq. The factual position may please be known to the public. Allah protect you! Are you going amidst such people who have made their $Am\bar{\imath}r$ helpless, crushed their opponents and have taken over the control of the country? If so, you may gladly go to Kufah and if otherwise, their invitation to you is an open declaration of war, I am afraid, that they may betray you." 15

According to many scholars like Abdur Razzaq Malihabadi, Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Shah Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi and Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui Husain paid no heed to this advice of Hazrat Abdullah ibn Abbas and replied clearly that he had taken a firm decision in this regard that he would leave for Kufah within a day or so. He patiently heard him and politely indicated that his resolve was impossible to change. ¹⁶ Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi and Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui on the

authority of Tabari write that "Abdullah ibn Umar advised both Ibn Zubair and Husain to have fear of Allah and abstain from creating fuss among Muslims." 17

Abbasi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr further writes that in order to persuade Husain, Yazid wrote a letter to Abdullah bin Abbas in Makkah and informed him about Husain's migration from Madinah to Makkah who has been approached by a few men from East (Iraq) and had motivated him for the Khilafah. The letter reads:

"You are aware of the circumstances and have experience of the past happenings, if it is so that Husain has contradicted the relation and traditions of the *Ummah*. You are the respected personality of *Ahl-i-Bait* and most favourite person of Husain, so it is imperative upon you to try to stop him from creating differences among Muslims." 18

Abbasi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr says that Abdullah ibn Abbas sent reply to this letter of Yazid which reads:

"I hope Husain will not indulge in any such revolt that will generate hatred. I will not hesitate from advising him in this regard and I will try to put an end to the conflict which can maintain love and affection among the Muslims". 19

Abbasi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr mentions the march of Husain and Ibn Zubair from Madinah to Makkah. According to him Yazid wrote:

"I complain to all of you (Ahl-i-Bait) that I have received the information about Husain whose Iraqi supporters are writing him letters and are trying to motivate him for acquiring the Khilafah. Husain is reported to assure them of his claim for the Khilafah. You know we (Banu Umayya and Banu Hashim) are the supreme symbols and admirers of relation, which is strongly challenged by Husain and does not abide by the tradition. You (Ibn Abbas) are the respected person of Banu Hashim. So you can play a decisive role in preventing Husain from dividing the Ummah by creating the differences among them."²⁰

A number of Urdu scholars like Arshad Amanullah, Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui and Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi clearly claim that these letters prove that it was the Iraqi Sabā'īs²¹ who were feigning time to motivate Husain to revolt against Yazid with regard to his own claim for Khilafah.²²

However, as all the Urdu writers hold and state on the authority of various original sources, that against their advice Husain accepted the invitation and sent his cousin, Muslim bin Aquil to Kufah to assess the situation there and inform him of the correct position. He also wrote the following letter to the Kufans which he sent through Hani and Sa'eed. The letter reads:

"In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From Husain bin Ali to the believers and Muslims of Iraq. Hani and Sa'eed Your last messengers have

brought your letters. I have read what you have written and pondered over it. You have written that you do not have an Imam and asked me to come to you so that Allah may perhaps draw you together on truth and guidance through me. Now I am sending to you my cousin Muslim bin Aquil in whom I have full confidence. If he writes to me that your elders and wise men confirm what your messengers say and what you have written in your letters I may proceed towards you soon. I swear by my life that a true Imam and leader is only he who takes decision the Ouran, according to establishes promotes the divine religion and dedicates himself to the path of Allah. And peace be upon you."23

It can be concluded from the above discussion that despite the fact that all the well-wishers of Husain advised him repeatedly not to trust the fickle-minded Kufans for they are not reliable; they are treacherous and could deceive at any time. But Husain did not pay any heed to their advices and ultimately decided to go to Kufah. Dr. Grahm Weir, a German Scholar, concluded this by saying that Husain was unwise and inexperienced enough to accept the summons of the wavering and treacherous Kufans. ²⁴

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- 17. Tabari, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 191 cited by Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, Khilafat Muawiyah wa Yazid, Delhi, 1958, p. 68; Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

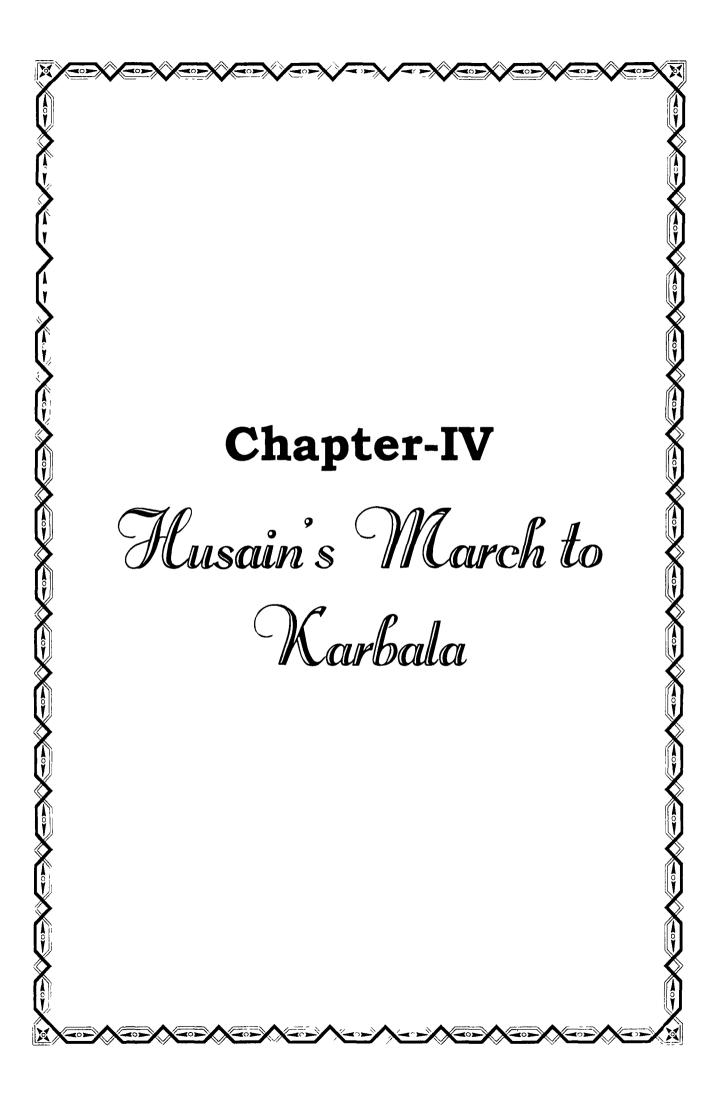
- 18. Ibn Kathīr, op. cit., V. 8. p. 164, cited by Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, Ibid, p. 68-69.
- 19. Ibn Kathīr, ibid, V. 8, p. 164, cited by Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, ibid, p. 69.
- 20. Ibn Kathīr, *Ibid*, V.6, p. 171, cited by Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, *ibid*., p. 70.
- 21. According to Maulana Mufti Muhammad Ishaq Siddiqui Nadvi 'Saba'īs are called after its leader Abdullah ibn Saba who joined Muslim society in the guise of a Muslim saint concealing his true intentions in his Jewish heart. Since he was a Yemenite Jew by origin. Taking under advantage of the ignorance of the newly converting Muslims, he invented and introduced a new religion called Shiaism. The followers of that religion were called Shias. Abdullah ibn Saba, however, convinced his followers, the Shias, that his religion was true Islam and they were true Mūmins (Muslims) as compared to those, who were not Shias. He was the founder of Shiah religion and Shiaism took its roots during his lifetime. Named after its founder, the Shias are known as Sabā'īs. For details see his book, Behind the Curtain, Pakistan (n.d.).
- 22. Arshad Amanullah, 'Haditha Karbala Sabā'ī Sazish ka
 Natījah, Monthly 'Muhaddith', Banaras, May, June, 2000, p.

- 44; Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui, Haditha Karbala ka Haqīqi

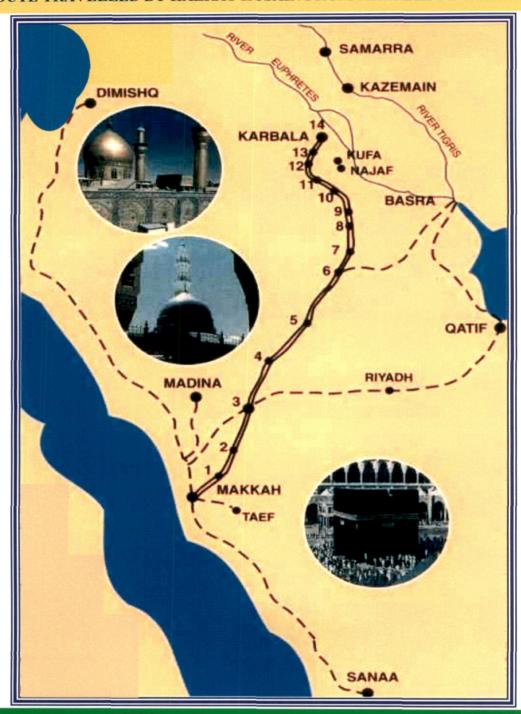
 Pas Manzar, Aligarh 1984, p. 42; Abbasi op. cit., p. 96.
- 23. Ibrahim Ayati, A Probe into the History of Ashura, Pakistan 2000, p. 28. See for further details: Rafi Ahmad Fidai, op. cit., p. 22.

The author in addition to the above discussion further writes that Husain clearly wrote in his letter to the people of Kufah, "As you have written me that you really agree to my Khilafah, if Muslim bin Aquil feels so and informs me accordingly then I shall start from here"; Aslam Jairajpuri, op. cit., p. 23; Shah Moinuddīn Nadvi, op. cit., p. 45.

24. Dr. Weil (Geschiche Der Islamitischen Volker) Eng. tr. From German, A History of Islamic People by S. Khuda Bakhsh, University of Calcutta 1914, p. 98.



ROUTE TRAVELLED BY HAZRAT HUSAIN FROM MAKKAH TO KARBALA



Map showing the stages of Hazrat Husain's journey from Makkah to Karbala where he either stayed or met people or gave sermons:

- 1. Safah 2. Tan'im 3. Dhat-i-'Irk 4. Batn al-Rummah and Hajir 5. Zarud 6. Thalahia 7. Zubala 8. Batn al-Agabah 9. Sharaf 10. Dhu Hugum
- 11. Adhayb al-Hijanat 12. Qasr-i-Bani Maqatil 13.Nanewah 14. Karbala

Makkah to Kufah

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Husain bin Ali migrated from Madinah to Makkah soon after he was asked by the Governor of Madinah to take oath of allegiance to Yazid's Khilafat just to avoid it. At Makkah he received a large number of letters from the people of Kufah requesting him to come over to Iraq assuring him that there was no legitimate *Imam* and the people of Iraq in general and those of Kufah in particular were willing to acknowledge and install him as Khalifah. The Kufi notables had exhorted Husain to make haste so that he may take their oath of allegiance and release them from the rule of Yazid. Husain responded by deputing his cousin Muslim bin Aquil bin Abi Talib to let him know of the actual position prevailing in Kufah. He also wrote a number of letters to the leaders of the Iraqi city.

Chirag Hasan Hasrat, a well-known scholar, claims that Husain himself knew the fact that the people of Kufah were not reliable and could change their minds at any time.² Despite it he decided to send to Kufah Muslim bin Aquil as his representative, to make on the spot study of the affairs of Kufah and send a report. Husain was to base his decision on that report. Wahīduddin Khan adds that Muslim bin Aquil who was ordered to proceed to Kufah did not know the actual plan of Husain.³

However, Muslim bin Aquil arrived in Kufah where he was warmly received by the notables and a large number of people, who not only swore allegiance to Husain but also stated on oath that they would help him with all their might.

Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi and several other Urdu writers quote famous historian Ibn Jarir Tabari and report that more than eighteen thousand Kufans took oath of allegiance to Husain. Same has been reported by scholars like Hamiduddīn, Wahīduddin Khan and Mir Mahmud Ali Qaisar. According to them, Muslim intimated Husain that he may now reach Kufah personally where people were enthusiastic to follow and take the oath of allegiance to him personally. Assured by his reports, Husain decided to start for Iraq.

Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi and several other scholars on the authority of Ibn Kathīr assert that with the soft policy of the governor of Kufah, Numan bin Bashir, who did not tackle the movement of Muslim bin Aquil tactfully, the government of the Umavi Khalifah was not satisfied, so he appointed Ubaidullah ibn Ziyad as the governor of Basrah and Kufah.⁶

The scholars such as Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, Hamiduddīn, Rafi Ahmad Fidai and Fazl Ahmad hold that Numan bin Bashir, the governor of Kufah, who was a pious Sahabi, virtuous personality and a man of peaceful nature, was fully aware of all the activities of Muslim bin Aquil and his supporters but he did not take any strong action; he took a very lenient view of all the developments and simply called some people to his presence and asked them to remain peaceful. However, he warned people not to flout the Khalifah's authority so openly that he might be compelled to take stern action against them. Hence Numan b. Bashir was replaced and Ibn Ziyad, who had already won fame by wiping out the Kharijites was appointed as governor of Kufah.

Soon after his arrival at Kufah Ibn Ziyad came to know about Muslim's activities as well as his taking shelter in the house of Hani bin Urwah, so he arrested Hani and put him in jail, but rumours spread in Kufah that Hani was put to death. Hearing this, Muslim came out of his hiding with eighteen thousand supporters and surrounded the governor in his House. This open revolt provoked Ibn Ziyad to take strong action against revolutionaries. He was also exhorted by certain officials to go round the city and warn the people of dire consequences in case they continued to support Muslim bin Aquil. His admonitions had the desired effect and the relatives of Aquil's followers, men and women, decided to go back to their houses before the Syrian army arrived. Muslim's supporters dispersed so swiftly that within no

reduced to three hundred only. According to the sources when Muslim bin Aquil took the field he had with him only thirty persons who got reduced to ten and finally zero at the last moment. Since he had no shelter or support so he wandered through the streets of the city in the dark, not knowing what to do.8

The story of Iraqi's betrayal of Muslim bin Aquil is both lengthy and heart-rending. It also shows that man is prone to be impressed more by power and pelf and rank and status than by the noble values, ideals and principles.9 At last Muslim bin Aquil had to seek refuge in a house, which was surrounded by the hostile people. At first those who had given protection to Muslim bin Aguil tried to defend him against the attackers but later they tried thrice to turn him out of the house. Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi holds that the mob besieging the house started pelting stones and then set fire to a pile of bamboos which caused suffocation to Muslim bin Aquil.¹⁰ There are however, different reports and the opinions of the different scholars which stand divided regarding the subsequent happenings. One says that Muslim bin Aquil came out with sword in his hand and fought the attackers. According to another version, Abdur Rahman who had given refuge to Muslim bin Aquil, handed him over to the Umayyad forces. According to

Ibn Kathīr, Muslim bin Aquil was brought to Ibn Ziyad. After a brief altercation with him Ibn Ziyad took him to the top of his palace. When he had reached the top of the palace, Mukhtar bin Imran cut off his head and threw it down. Thereafter he hurled down his body also. Ibn Ziyad also punished supporters of Muslim, especially his protector Hani bin Urwah who was eventually put to death.

Meanwhile, towards the close of the year A.H. 60/680, on the first day of Dh ul-Hijjah, Husain, heedless of the remonstrance of faithful friends, started from Makkah with his family and a small band of followers. There are however, different opinions of scholars regarding Husain's departure from Makkah to Kufah. Allama Tabatabai, a Shia writer, on the authority of Ibn Mufid opines that the stay of Husain in Makkah continued until the season for pilgrimage when Muslims from all over the world poured in groups into Makkah in order to perform the rites of the Hajj. Husain discovered that some of the followers of Yazid had entered Makkah as pilgrims (Hajis) with the mission to kill him during the rites of Hajj with the arms they carried under their special pilgrimage dress (ihram). 12 That is why Husain abandoned the pilgrimage and decided to leave for Kufah. The same author on the authority of Shahrishub holds that amidst the vast crowd of people he stood up, in a short speech announced that he was

setting out for Iraq.¹³ In addition to this, Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, also a Shiite scholar, on the authority of Tabari claims that Husain's visit to Makkah and growing support in Kufah alarmed Yazid, therefore, he commissioned some assassins to kill Husain during the pilgrimage ceremonies. That is why on 8th Dh ul-Hijjah 60/9th September 680, Husain left Makkah without performing the annual Hajj. It is also said that Muslim was beheaded on the same day Husain left Makkah.¹⁴

But Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi holds that Husain had already left Makkah for Kufah on the day Muslim had been arrested or a day earlier to that. Muslim had requested Muhammad bin Ashath to inform Husain, if possible, of what had happened to him and tell him to go back with his household. Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Chirag Hasan Hasrat and Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi maintain that Muslim bin Aquil had asked him to convey his message to Husain that the people of Kufah should not be trusted since they were the people who wanted to get rid of his father through his Martyrdom. These people were liars who had duped both of them, and no liar is ever steadfast on his promises. Muhammad bin Ashath conveyed this message to Husain. 16

Husian's journey and the opinion of his well-wishers

Before Husain set off from Makkah, several of his wellwishers had advised him not to go to Kufah. The Urdu writers like Hamiduddīn, Abul Kalam Azad and Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi hold that Abdullah bin Abbas had told him that the people of Kufah were deceitful whose promises should never be trusted. He had also asked Husain to remain at Makkah and go to Iraq only after the Iraqis were able to dispel the opponents from their country. Husain admitted him to be his well- wisher, but could not stop himself as he had already made up his mind. Abdullah ibn Abbas further entreated that if he was bent upon going to Iraq he should not take the women and children with him, for he feared that he might also be slain like Hazrat Uthman before the members of his family.¹⁷

According to Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, Abdullah bin Umar also tried to dissuade Husain in the like manner, but when Husain refused to change his decision he embraced Husain and breaking into tears, said, "I entrust a martyr to the care of Allah". Qazi Zainul Abidin on the authority of Ibn Athīr and Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr hold that Abdullah bin Zubair also tried to persuade Husain not to leave for Kufah but Husain replied, "I have been informed that forty thousand people have taken the oath that they would support me or else their wives would be divorced and their slaves deemed as liberated." 19

According to Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi some distinguished Companions of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) like Abu Sa'eed al-

Khudri, Jabir bin Abdullah and Jabiun like Sa'eed bin al-Musayyib urged Husain not to go to Kufah nouts are remained inflexible in his resolve. The scholars like Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, Hamiduddīn and Qazi Zainul Abidīn hold that several other well-wishers of Husain like Abdul Rahman bin Haris, Abu Bakr bin Abdur Rahman, Abdullah bin Mūti' requested Husain not to go to Kufah but he paid no head to them. 21

According to the scholars like Sambhali, Abbasi, Abul Kalam Azad and Taha Husain, Husain's own family members like his brother Muhammad bin al-Hanafiya and another member of the Hashimite family, Abdullah bin Jafar, one of his cousins, also requested him not to leave for Iraq. Moreover, Abdullah bin Jafar wrote to him a letter from Madinah. The letter has been reproduced by Abul Kalam Azad and Taha Husain:

"I beseech you in the name of Allah to desist from the implementation of your plan for it entails your death and destruction of your family and companions. Your death will extinguish the light of earth; at the present you are the beacon light of faith and the centre of the believers hopes. Don't make haste in undertaking the journey."²²

M.Y.M. Siddiqui on the authority of Tabari and Ibn Athir and Abul Kalam Azad maintains that Abdullah ibn Jafar even approached Umar bin Said bin al-Ās, the governor of Madinah, and requested him to apprise Husain of the actual position through

a letter. Umar directed him to draft a letter on which he will affix his signature and official seal. Abdullah drafted the letter on behalf of the governor, which read:

"I pray to Allah to keep you away from the path where there is a danger to your life and might guide you to the way of salvation. I have come to know that you are leaving for Iraq; I beseech you not to undertake such a mission for I am afraid that a disastrous calamity is awaiting you there. I am sending Abdullah bin Jafar bin Sa'eed to you and request you please return with him; there is peace and tranquility for you over here. May Allah protect you for He is the best protector and sustainer."²³

Athar Abbas Rizvi on the authority of Tabari writes that Awn and Muhammad, two sons of Husain's brother-in-law Abdullah ibn Jafar, presented a letter from their father also requesting him to desist from visiting Kufah.²⁴ According to two more Scholars, Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi and Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, there were some others like Jabir bin Abdullah, Abu Waqid Al-Laithi, and Miswar bin Makhrama who requested Husain and warned him against the dangers of a revolt.²⁵

Inspite of all these sincere advices, Husain did not abandon his project. He left Makkah for Kufah along with his family members and followers on 8th Dh ul-Hijjah 60/10 September 680.²⁶

Stages of Husain's Journey

The names of places where Husain stopped on the way from Makkah to Kufah are all recorded by historians and various Urdu writers. Julius Wellhausen has also noted them. There are differences amongst scholars about the stages on the journey where Husain had stayed. So far as the places and stages mentioned by a set of scholars is concerned the chronological arrangement may be as follows:

Safah

Al-Safah is mountainous place near Makkah; it is ten kilometers away from Makkah. The scholars like Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui, Abul Kalam Azad, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, Qazi Zainul Abidin and Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi hold that it is first place through which Husain is said to have passed after leaving Makkah for Kufah. He did not stay here but met a well-known poet Farazdaq coming from Kufah. Husain enquired him about the situation prevailing in Kufah. Farazdaq giving an account of the situation at Kufah replied and made his assessment of the political conditions of Kufah in the following words, "Their hearts are with you, but their swords are on the side of the Ummayyads." 28

Tan'im

It is the station outside Makkah where the Makkans went in order to enter into a state of consecration for the Umrah. This place according to Atiqur Rahman Sambhali is situated four kilometers to the north west of Makkah. The pilgrims of Umrah use to wear their *Ihrams* at this place.²⁹

According to the scholars Rashid Akhtar Nadvi; Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi and Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi at this place Husain hired some camels from a caravan coming from Yemen. These scholars further write that it was at this stage that Abdullah bin Jafar sent Husain a letter through his sons Aun and Muhammad, asking him, for the sake of God, to go back to Madinah as soon as possible, but he denied and continued his Journey onwards. Moreover, Abdullah bin Jafar also came to persuade him but all in vain. 30

Dhat-i-'Irq

It is the road from Makkah to Iraq in a pass through the mountain of 'Irq. It overlooks the northeast valley of Batn al-Rummah. According to Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, this place is twenty two miles ahead from Makkah. From this place one side goes to Basrah via Autas and another to Kufah.³¹ Sayyid Aulad Hyder on the authority of Ibn Mufid writes that at this stage after

the departure of Abdullah bin Jafar Husain speeded along this route to Iraq and stayed there.³²

Batn al-Rummah and Hajir

Batn al -Rummah is the name of a valley and Hajir is a place in it. It is the valley overlooked by the high grounds of Rummah in Najd. Hajir is a watering place also. According to Abbasi this place is one hundred thirty eight miles away from Makkah.33 According to Atique Rahman Sambhali at this stage Husain dispatched a letter to the Kufans by his foster brother Abdullah bin Yaqtur regarding his journey to Kufah.³⁴ Some scholars like Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, Rashid Akhtar Nadvi and Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi hold that from this stage Husain dispatched a letter to the Kufans through Qais bin Mushir, who was one of his messengers. Husain wrote in it that, "I have left Makkah and when you receive my letter, finalize your arrangements quickly and put your organisation in order, since I would be arriving in your midst very soon." According to these scholars, Qais set out with this letter to Kufah, but was arrested at Qadisiyyah by a commander of the army and sent by Ibn Ziyad. By the orders of Ibn Ziyad he was flung to the ground from the roof of the palace. His body was broken into pieces.³⁵ Abbasi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr states that at this stage Husain dispatched a letter through Qais bin Mushir.³⁶ Abbasi, however, did not give the details of his death.

On the other side Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr writes that on reaching the place called Hajir, Husain said to those accompanying him: "My supporters have deserted me. Now who amongst you wants to return can go back. I will have no objection or claim against you." Many persons around him started pulling out. But these were the Bedouins who had joined his party on the way. He was left only with the people with whom he started the journey.³⁷

Zarud

Zarud is a place with very sandy ground on the way from Makkah to Kufah. According to Abbasi and Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui, Zarud, also called as al-Khazimia, is eight hundred fifty miles away from Makkah.³⁸ The scholars like Abul Kalam Azad, Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui and Atiqur Rahman Sambhali hold that at this stage Husain received the news of martyrdom of Muslim bin Aquil and Hani bin Urwah. This was the first stage where Husain confronted with was the of distressing news developments.39

Thalabia

Thalabia is one of the halting places on the way from Makkah to Kufah. The scholars like Aslam Jairajpuri, Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, Abdul Qayoom Nadvi and Hamiduddīn unanimously claim that at

this stage Husain received the news of Muslim's martyrdom. Getting this tragic news Husain's intention was shaken and he wanted to go back. But now the brothers of Muslim bin 'Aquil refused to do so. They said that either they would take vengeance of Muslim's blood or they would die. Seeing their insistence, Husain also dropped the idea of going back and his journey towards Kufah continued. According to these scholars, after covering some distance, the messengers of Muhammad bin Ashath and Amr bin Sa'd came and gave him the message of Muslim and suggested him to go back. But now Husain was not in a position to go back. He, however, let his companions know all about what had happened in Kufah, and said that his supporters in Kufah had deserted him, that Muslim and Hani had been assassinated, and in spite of that he was in no mood to go back; yet he would not compel anybody to remain with him. So those who wanted to go back could do so. Hearing this the crowd of people that had accompanied him on the way went back. Now only those people remained with him who were his faithful devotees and had accompanied him with no hope of any worldly gain. 40

Zubala

Zubala is situated on the road to Kufah two stages ahead from it. This place is at a distance of four nights journey from Kufah. According to some scholars like Atiqur Rahman Sambhali

and Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi at this stage Husain received a letter from Muslim through Muhammad bin Ashath. In this letter Muslim mentioned that he had been arrested and informed him, if possible, go back with his household. He also informed Husain that the people of Kufah should not be trusted since they were the liars who had duped him. Ashath conveyed the message of Muslim to Husain, but he refused to accept the advice, saying "whatever has been destined by Allah will anyhow come to happen."

Two scholars, Qazi Zainul Abidīn and Shah Moinuddīn Nadvi, hold that at this stage, Husain learnt that his messenger Abdullah bin Baktar (according to some scholars his name was Yaqtur), his foster brother, sent from Makkah to Kufah to announce there his imminent arrival, had been discovered and killed. Husain then read to his supporters proclamation in which after informing them of the painful news he had received and of the treachery of the leaders of Kufah.⁴²

Batn al- Aqabah

Batn al-Aqabah is a halting place on the way from Makkah to Kufah beneath the high mountain of Aqabah before coming to Waqisah. Some scholars like Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi and Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi state that at this stage came a man who gave Husain the news that Ibn Ziyad had posted guards throughout Qadisiyyah and Azīb. He requested Husain to

go back as nothing besides swords would greet him and warned him against reposing his trust in those who had written letters to him, since they would be the first to turn out to oppose him. Husain gave him his blessings for his good wishes but resumed his journey.⁴³

Sharaf

Sharaf is a watering place in the Najd. It is also called as "Chashma Sharaf". The scholars, Aslam Jairajpuri, Hamiduddīn, Abdur Razzaq Malihabadi and Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, state that at this stage Husain met Hur bin Yazid Tamīmi who was accompanied by one thousand soldiers. Hur told him that we had been ordered to take you to Ibn Ziyad, the Governor of Kufah. According to Sayyid Ali Naqi after the negotiations Husain decided to continue his journey. At this stage Husain ordered all water skins and leather bottles to be filled with water and then left the place. 45

Dhu Husum

Dhu Husum is a naturally well-fortified place near Karbala. According to the scholars like Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Qazi Zainul Abidīn, and Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, when Husain's caravan reached the place called Dhu Husum, Hur bin Yazid Tamīmi met him with one thousand troops. He was sent by Ibn Ziyad to encompass Husain's caravan and bring it to Kufah. Addressing

Hur and his companions, Husain said that he had not come of his own accord but it was the Kufans who had invited him to come by sending hundreds of letters. Saying this he showed a bundle of letters sent to him by the Kufans. Hur, however, said that he was in no mood to discuss such things, and that he had come only to take him to Kufah by the order of Ibn Ziyad. Now, Husain wanted to return towards Hijaz but Hur objected, yet he did not do any thing degrading to Husain. He rather showed best regards for him and respectfully proposed that if he (Husain) did not like to go with him he should adopt a way other than that of Hijaz or Iraq. In the meantime he would write to Ibn Ziyad and to Yazid; in this way a peaceful outcome of the issue could appear and Husain agreed to this proposal. 46

Baiza

Baiza is a place on the way from Makkah to Kufah and near Karbala. After reaching to this stage Husain delivered a speech to the people of that place. According to the scholars like Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Moinuddīn Ahmad and Abul Kalam Azad, Husain made a speech to all those who were present there. In the speech he said:

"O people! The Holy Prophet (SAW) has said that he, who saw such a king made illegitimate as legitimate, broke the canons of Allah, ruled over the slaves of Allah with vices and tyranny against the will of Allah and His Prophet (SAW) and in spite of that remained inactive and calm; then such a person must go to hell with the king. Now, O people! You should know that they (the rulers) have chosen themselves to be the obedient of Satan and have given up the obedience to Allah. They have created disturbances in the country and have set aside the penal laws of the *Shariah*. They take lion's share in war booty and have made legitimate what Allah has declared illegitimate. In the same way they have made illegitimate what Allah has declared to be legitimate. So I feel all these acts more indignantly than others."⁴⁷

'Adhayb al-Hijanat

There were two other watering places within the area of al'Adhayb, one of them to the east of 'Adhayb was called 'Adhayb

al-Hijanat. The area was particularly good for grazing animals,
especially horses and camels.

Two scholars, Abul Kalam Azad and Qazi Zainul Abidīn, hold that at the place 'Adhayb al-Hijanat four horsemen were seen coming from Kufah led by Tarmah bin 'Adi. At this juncture, Tarmah bin 'Adi said:

"By God! I am making a keen observation, but I see nobody who may stand by your side Death seems to be inevitable for you, if the people who are following rush upon you. I never saw such a big crowd anywhere as I witnessed behind — in Kufah. They all have assembled to fight against one

individual — Husain. I advise you not to move any further. If you want to go to a place where you would be quite safe from enemies, you may follow me. I shall take you to my mountain 'Aaja'. Within a period of less than ten days, you will find twenty thousand armed strong men belonging to a tribe "Tai" arrayed before you. As long as they are vigilant, no body will have the courage to look at you with an evil intent."48

According to these scholars, Husain denied this offer and invoked Allah's blessing on him for his offer and said that he had a commitment with the men following him and in view of this, he could not go a step forward. In addition some scholars like Abdul Qayoom Nadvi and Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi hold that at this stage, Husain came to know of the war preparations in Kufah and the assassination of Qais bin Ashar whom he had sent to collect information in advance.⁴⁹

Qasr-i-Bani Maqatil

Qasr-i-Bani Maqatil was a palace of a Christian tribe in pre-Islamic times; it was close to al-Qutqutanah. Al-Qutqutanah is a place near Kufah on the edge of the desert.

Some scholars like Abul Kalam Azad and Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi hold that at this stage Husain felt that he was heading towards death. At the time of leaving this place Husain had a nap. Suddenly, he awakened and said to his son Ali that he saw a horse rider who was moving ahead and expressing words, "people move onward and the death too moves with them." Husain further said that he was sure this was the prediction of their death, which was being conveyed to them. According to Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui, when Husain turned towards Qasr-i-Maqatil, the army of Hur stopped him there. Hur said to Husain that, "I have been ordered to take you to Kufah. 11

Al-Qadisiyyah

Al-Qadisiyyah is a town nineteen miles away from Kufah and ten miles away from Karbala. This is the place where the Muslims defeated Persians in 16A.H/637A.D. during the Khilafah of Hazrat Umar (RA).

Some Urdu scholars like Abul Kalam Azad and Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui hold that Husain's party had advanced only a little distance beyond Qadisiyyah when Hur bin Yazid appeared with a force of one thousand armed men and followed him and his men intending to keep a close watch on them till they came face to face with Ibn Ziyad.⁵²

Husain's Address

According to these scholars at a stop where the members of the entourage offered Zuhar prayer, Husain addressed them before the prayer:

"O people! Before you, and before Allah I have a reason for my arrival to this place, that I did not come over here at my own accord, but I have been invited by your people; and your letters are with me which stand a testimony to this effect. If you have gone back on the promises contained in your communications addressed to me and conveyed through messengers, I am willingly prepared to go back. You invited me to lead you as an *Imam*. So I have arrived here."

According to these scholars, when the address was over; there prevailed a complete silence. Then the Asr prayer was offered together. After the prayer Husain delivered the second sermon in which he spoke:

"You will please Allah if you adhere to righteousness and support the claim of the right person. We the members of the Prophet's family have a stronger claim to Khilafah than others. They rule over you tyrannically. If you dislike us and concede our right; if you have gone back on the promises contained in your communications addressed to me and conveyed through messengers, I am willingly prepared to go back."

Hur asked Husain about the letters which he had mentioned in his discourse expressing his ignorance about such letters. Husain asked 'Aqba bin Saman to bring the two bags which were full of letters sent by the people of Kufah. Hur told Husain, "We are not those people who wrote these letters to you". He further

explained, "I have been ordered by Ibn Ziyad to take you before him". Husain told him that his appearance before Ibn Ziyad was not possible before his death.⁵³

Besides, some scholars like Atiqur Rahman Sambhali on the authority of Tabari and Asrar Ahmad hold that it was the stage where Husain met Hur accompanied with one thousand Soldiers. Husain also came to know about Muslim's death and decided to go back. But Muslim's Brothers insisted on continuing journey to avenge their brother. After Husain advanced a bit he saw the army of Ibn Ziyad. Then he turned towards Karbala. According to Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, at this stage Husain on seeing Ibn S'ad accompanied by his army turned towards Karbala. Stage Husain on seeing Ibn

Theory of Abbasi on Husain's decision to travel to Damascus instead of Karbala

Besides this, Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi asserts that while approaching Kufah Husain got the actual picture of the prevailing conditions. In order to meet Yazid he used the route that led to Syria. Abbasi further writes that on receiving the news of Muslim's death, Husain decided to return but the sons of Muslim opposed the idea. After advancing towards Kufah, a battle took place between Husain and Hur bin Yazid Riyahi who was accompanied by one thousand soldiers. Hur tried to take Husain to Kufah but Husain refused and took the route which lead to Syria.

According to Abbasi at this place after Husain was conveyed the treachery of Kufans he decided to go back and take the route which goes to Syria towards the left side of Qadisiyyah via Qasr-i-Maqatil and Qaryat 'Ardh al-Taf. Husain advanced towards this route but he was stopped there and was not allowed to advance further. He was asked to accept the orders of Ibn Ziyad but he refused and desired to attend Yazid in Syria. ⁵⁶ In this respect Mir Mahmud Ali Qaisar also claims that Husain desired to take the route of Syria to meet Yazid. But Hur bin Yazid Riyahi accompanied by one thousand soldiers stopped him and wanted to take him to Kufah. ⁵⁷

Nanewah

Nanewah is a small village near Karbala. Several scholars like Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi and Rafi Ahmad Fidai are unanimous that Husain reached Nanewah where an armed rider was seen coming from the direction of Kufah, and everybody halted and awaited his arrival. The man had brought Hur a letter from ibn Ziyad saying, "You should prevent Husain from advancing further wherever this letter may reach you. You should make him encamp where water and camel may not be available". Hur acquainted Husain and his companions of the full contents of the letter received from Ibn Ziyad. Husain wanted to advance to some distance and while he was reaching

Karbala, Hur stopped him and declined to grant these requests anymore.⁵⁹ According to Aslam Jairajpuri, at this stage Husain met an army under the command of Ibn S'ad. Jairajpuri claims that it was at Nanewah where Husain offered three proposals.⁵⁹ The details about these proposals are discussed in chapter 5 of this thesis.

Advent at Karbala

Karbala is situated on the south bank of the Furāt (Euphrates) towards north of Kufah. This is where the battle against Husain took place. It is still a shrine for the Shiah. All the Urdu scholars are unanimous that after leaving Nanewah Husain's Caravan encamped in the field of Karbala. The scholars like Atiqur Rahman Sambhali; Abul Kalam Azad, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi; Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Sayyid Amīr Ali and several others hold that on advancing a bit turning to the left Hur's contingent stopped Husain from moving further and asked him to alight, and asses that the Euphrates was not far from there. Upon enquiring the name of the place was given out as Karbala. Ultimately Husain along with his supporters made his camp at Karbala on 2nd Muharram 61 A.H. / 2 October. 680AD. 60

A short analysis can be made over here regarding the above discussion. After Husain left Makkah for Kufah the respected and eminent Companions of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) tried their

level best to persuade Husain to give up his idea. But Husain paid no heed and was reluctant and turned down their suggestions and requests. He was of the opinion that the people of Kufah had undergone a transformation, which was evident from their communications and letters. A renowned Arab researcher Muhammad Shakir states that time bears testimony that the people who suggested that Husain must not go to Kufah were right and the decision to visit Kufah was an interpretative blunder because:

- 1. The people of Kufah were not trustworthy. Moreover, there was a political instability.
- 2. He revolted against the present ruler who was unanimously accepted by the whole *Ummah*.⁶¹

Notes and References

- Aslam Jairajpuri, op. cit., p.23; Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi,
 op. cit., p. 45.
- Chirag Hasan Hasrat, Sarguzasht Islam, vol. II, Lahore 1960,p. 20
- 3. Wahiduddin Khan, Zahoor Islam, op. cit., p. 62.
- 4. Moinuddin Ahmad Nadvi, op. cit., p. 47; Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, op. cit., pp. 107-108; Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi, Shahadat Husain, Calcutta, 1935, p. 14.
- 5. Hamiduddīn, op. cit., p. 188; Wahīduddin Khan, op. cit., p.62; Mīr Mahmud Ali Qaisar, op. cit., p. 248.
- 6. Ibn Kathir, Al-Bidaya, op. cit., vol. VIII p. 152, cited by Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi; op. cit., p. 223.
- 7. Qazi Zainul Abidīn, op. cit., p. 58; Moinuddtn Ahmad Nadvi, op. cit., p. 45; Hamiduddīn, op. cit., p. 45; Rafi Ahmad Fidai, vol. II, op. cit., p. 22. Fazl Ahmad, op. cit., p. 77.
- 8. Ibn Kathīr, op. cit., vol. VIII, pp. 154-155 cited by Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, op. cit., p. 224.
- 9. The people of Iraq with whom Muslim and Husain had to deal with consisted, by and large of emancipated slaves, newly converted Muslims and the tribal of Eastern Arabia who had still not imbibed the spirit of Islam. Having being subjects of the absolute and hedonic Sassanid Empire for a

long time, the people of Iraq had become sycophants and self-seekers, individually and collectively. This Iraqian character manifested itself in struggle in which one had to choose between material benefits and the morals and principles.

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- 11. Al-Bidaya, op. cit., vol. VIII, pp. 156-157 cited by Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, op. cit., p. 224.
- 12. Ibn Mufid, Al-Irshad, Tahran (Iran) 137AH, p. 201, cited by Allama Tabatabai, Shiite Islam, London 1980, p. 197.
- 13. Ibn Shahrishub, Manaqib, vol. IV. p. 89 cited by Tabatabai, ibid., p. 197.
- 14. Tabari, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 254-278, cited by Athar Abbas Rizvi, History of Ithna Ashari Shiis in India, Australia, 1986, vol. I. p. 44.
- 15. Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, op. cit., pp. 224-225.
- Qazi Zainul Abidīn, op. cit., p. 62; Chirag Hasan Hasrat, op.
 cit., p. 21; Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, op. cit., p. 48.
- 17. Hamiduddīn, op. cit., p. 190; Abul Kalam Azad, Shahīd Azam, op. cit., p. 9; Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, op. cit., pp. 49-50.
- 18. Atiqur Rahman Sambhali; op. cit., pp. 149-150.

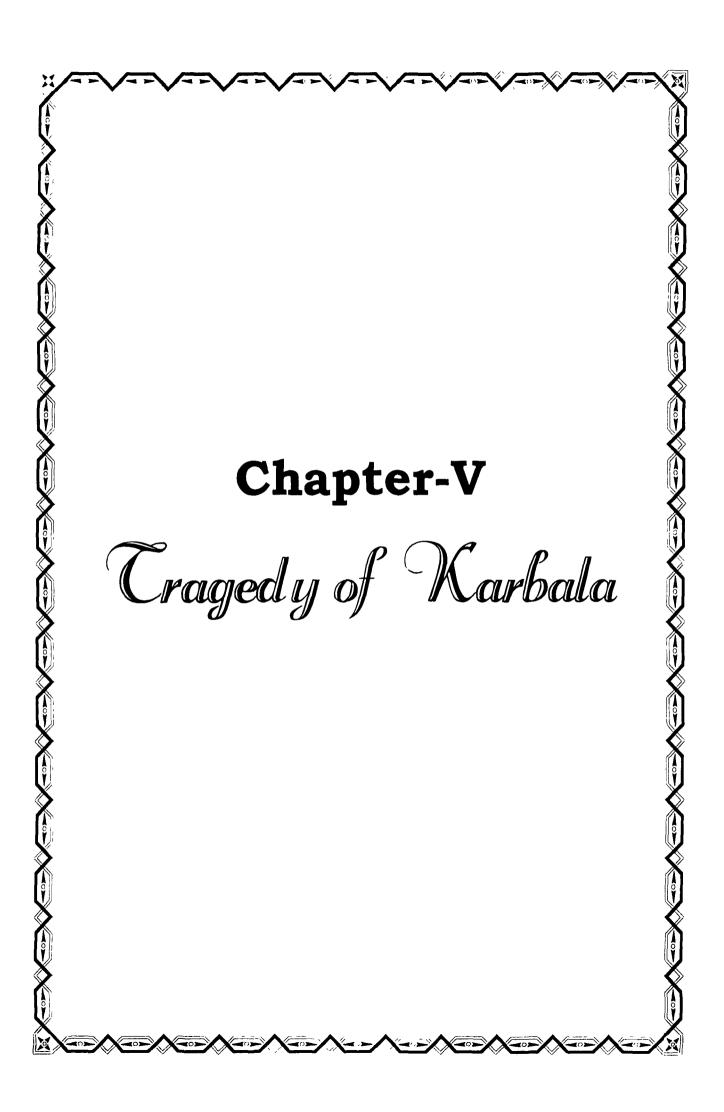
- 19. Ibn Athīr; Al-Kamil, vol. VI, pp. 15-16 cited by Qazi Zainul Abidīn, op. cit., p. 64; Ibn Kathīr, vol. VIII, p. 160 cited by Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, op. cit., p. 225.
- 20. Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, op. cit., pp. 71-72.
- 21. Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, op. cit., pp. 156-166; Hamiduddīn, op. cit., p. 190; Qazi Zainul Abidīn, op. cit., p. 163.
- Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, *ibid*, pp. 144-146; Abbasi, *op. cit.*,
 pp. 68-73, 100-105; Abul Kalam Azad, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10;
 Taha Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 471.
- Tabari, op. cit., vol. V, p. 388; Ibn Athīr, op. cit., vol. IV, p.
 40, cited by M.Y.M. Siddiqui, op. cit., p. 76; Abul Kalam
 Azad, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
 - The author further writes that after Abdullah ibn Jafar wrote the letter, The Governor affixed it seal and send it through his own brother Yahya bin Sa'eed Umari to Husain.
- 24. Tabari, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 280-281 cited by Athar Abbas Rizvi, op. cit., p. 44.
- 25. Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, op. cit., p. 72; Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, op. cit., p. 167.
- 26. Murtaza Husain Fazil, Husain b. Ali, Urdu, Daira Marif Islamia, Ist (ed.) Punjab (Lahore) vol. 8, 1973, p. 327.
 According to Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi it was 3 Dh ul-Hijjah 60/5 September 680. op. cit., vol. II, p. 60.

- 27. Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, op. cit., p. 174.
- 28. Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, *ibid*, pp. 174-175; Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui, *op. cit.*, p.29.; Abul Kalam Azad, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Qazi Zainul Abidīn, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-293; Murtaza Ahmad Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Chirag Hasan Hasrat, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Abbasi, *op. cit.*, p. 129.; Urdu Daira Marif Islamia, *op. cit.*, p. 328.
- 29. Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, Ibid, p. 174.
- 30. Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, op. cit., p. 77; Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi, op. cit., pp. 293-294; Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, op. cit., p. 60.
- 31. Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, op. cit., p. 150.
- 32. Ibn Mufīd, al-Irshad, op. cit., p. 229, cited by Sayyid Aulad Hyder, Zabh-i-Azīm, Delhi, 1930, p. 225.
- 33. Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, op. cit., p. 157.
- 34. Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, op. cit., p. 176.
- 35. Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, op. cit., p. Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, op. cit., pp. 78-79.
- 36. Ibn Kathīr, vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 168, cited by Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, op. cit., p. 158.

- 37. Ibn Kathīr., vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 169, cited by Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, op. cit., p. 226.
- 38. Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, op. cit., p. 151; Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui, op. cit., p. 29.
- 39. Abul Kalam Azad, op. cit., p. 11; Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, op. cit., p. 177; Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui, ibid, p. 29.
- 40. Aslam Jairajpuri, op. cit., p. 25; Qazi Zainul Abidīn, op. cit., p. 65; Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, op. cit., pp. 61-62; Moinuddin Ahmad Nadvi, op. cit., p. 50; Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, op. cit., p. 68; Hamiduddīn, op. cit., p. 191.
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- Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, ibid, pp. 176-177; Abul Hasan Ali
 Nadvi, op. cit., p. 225. Urdu Daira Marif Islamia vol. VIII,
 op. cit., p. 328.
- 42. Qazi Zainul Abidīn, op. cit., p. 66; Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
- 43. Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, op. cit., p. 178; Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, op. cit., p. 80; Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi, op. cit., p. 299.

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- 45. Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi, ibid, p. 299.
- 46. Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, op. cit., p. 69; Qazi Zainul Abidin, op. cit., p. 66; Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, op. cit., p. 51.
- 47. Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, ibid, p. 70; Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, Ibid, p. 51; Abul Kalam Azad, op. cit., p. 14. Urdu Daira Marif, vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 328.
- 48. Abul Kalam Azad, *Ibid*, p. 17; Qazi Zainul Abidīn, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
- 49. Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, op. cit., p. 71; Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, op. cit., p. 52.
- 50. Abul Kalam Azad, op. cit., p. 20; Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi, op. cit., p. 305.
- 51. Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui, op. cit., p. 32.
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 ibid, p. 31.
- 54. Asrar Ahmad, Saniha Karbala, op. cit., p. 46; Tabari, vol. VI, op. cit., p. 220; cited by Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, op. cit., pp. 178-180.

- 55. Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, op. cit., p. 62.
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- 58. Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, op. cit., p. 71; Qazi Zainul Abidīn, op. cit., p. 68; Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, op. cit., p. 52; Rafi Ahmad Fidai, op. cit., p. 26.
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Events/Reports of Happenings at Karbala

On the second Muharram 61 A.H/ 2nd October 680 Husain encamped at Karbala, some twenty-five miles north of Kufah on the west bank of the Euphrates. According to P.K. Hitti, Rafi Ahmad Fidai and Irfan Faqih, the situation worsened on the third of Muharram. They unanimously hold that on that eventful day there arrived from Kufah an army of four thousand men under the command of Umar bin S'ad bin Abi Waqqas, deputy governor (Naib) of Ibn Ziyad at Rayy, who was recalled from Dastaba where he had been sent to put down revolt of the Daylamis, and eventually sent by Ibn Ziyad, the governor of Kufah, to bring Husain to Kufah. Abul Kalam Azad asserts that Umar ibn S'ad was also directed to obtain Husain's oath of allegiance to Yazid. It appears that after arriving at Karbala he first tried to settle the issue peacefully. No sooner did he arrive at Karbala, he sent a message to Husain, inquiring the reason of his arrival. In reply Husain stated that the Kufans had invited him. He further added that in case they disliked his arrival, he was prepared to go back. Umar was delighted at this reply and became optimistic and thought that he could save himself from the necessity of proceeding against Husain. He therefore, wrote to Ibn Ziyad, informing him what Husain has expressed. Ibn Ziyad read the letter and exclaimed in verse: "He is now in our clutches and

therefore tries to escape but the time to go back and run away has gone."²

According to Abul Kalam Azad in reply Ibn Ziyad issued the following instructions:

"Ask Husain first to take oath of allegiance in favour of Yazid along with his followers and then we shall see what is to be done. See that water is not supplied to Husain and his followers. They should not have even a drop of water just as Hazrat Uthman was deprived of it."

According to Asrar Ahmad, Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, and Rafi Ahmad Fidai, water was stopped only for four days i.e. from seventh to tenth Muharram 61. A.H. Rafi Ahmad Fidai further writes that Umar bin S'ad complied with the order of Ibn Ziyad with effect from seventh to tenth Muharram. This shows that water was stopped only for four days. A Shia scholar Ali Naqi Naqvi claims that water supply was never denied to Husain.

Abul Kalam Azad also holds that being constrained by Ibn Ziyad's order, Umar bin S'ad posted five hundred soldiers to guard the bank of the river. Water supply was stopped but his brother Abbas bin Ali fetched water from the river under escort of thirty horsemen and twenty soldiers. Arriving at the bank, they were resisted by the guard commander Umar bin al-Hajjaj. A

regular struggle ensued. Eventually, Abbas succeeded in getting twenty leather bags filled with water.⁷

Negotiations

Qazi Zainul Abidīn holds that in the evening of the day Husain sent a messenger to Umar bin S'ad for talks in the night. They both set off from their respective tents each followed by twenty horsemen and met midway. Although the talks were quite confidential, it was revealed that Husain suggested to Umar bin S'ad that they should leave their armies at Karbala and both would go to Yazid to negotiate the matter. Umar replied that if he acted according to this suggestion, his house would be destroyed. After this Husain proposed to go back where from he came. But Umar did not agree to it.8

Although Umar bin S'ad had come to Karbala but was still hesitating to use force against Husain. He was still trying to avoid bloodshed with the hope that there could be a peaceful settlement. It is said that Ibn Ziyad was informed by some Kufi officers about Umar's attitude to Husain. So he sent Shimr Dhi al-Joushan to Umar with a letter that if he was unable to take oath of allegiance from Husain and failed to present him before (Ibn Ziyad), then he (Umar bin S'ad) should handover the charge to Shimr. Hence, there was no alternative but to execute the order of Ibn Ziyad.

Umar met Husain on the ninth of Muharram to discuss with him finally. This last meeting also failed.

Husain's Response

Since Husain was not at all ready to surrender. Subsequently they had three more meetings with each other but all in vain. Many historians like Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Athīr and Tabari and several Urdu scholars like Abul Ala Maududi, Abul Kalam Azad, Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, M.Y.M. Siddiqui, Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, Taha Husain, Asrar Ahmad, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, Arshad Amanullah and Khurshid Ahmad Fariq unanimously hold that Husain offered three proposals:

- (1) "Let me return to the place from where I came;
- (2) If not then lead me to Yazid at Damascus and arrange a meet so that I may speak with him face to face;
- (3) Or if you accept neither of these proposals, then send me faraway to the wars where I shall fight as the Khalifah's faithful soldier against the enemies of Islam."9

However, the opinion of some later scholars varies regarding the second and third proposal Husain offered to Ibn S 'ad. For example, Khwaja Kamaluddīn writes that Husain proposed that he should be allowed to go to Turkistan so that he may get killed in Jihad against those non-Muslims who ever offended the Muslims on the Persian frontier. 10 M.M. Taqvi Khan in his article claims

that Husain asked the opposite party to allow him to go to India. If Moreover, "in a conference with the chief of the opponents", says a western scholar Edward Gibbon that "Husain expressed desire to be stationed in a frontier garrison against the Turks". It Allama Sayyid Mujtaba Husain Kamunpuri in his Maqtal al-Husain on the authority of Tabari and Ibn Athīr claims like several other Urdu writers, that Husain never offered the last two proposals as mentioned above. Instead he offered, "Let me go to the place where I shall see what is going on the people." Is

After protracted negotiations, Umar bin S 'ad thought it fit to write to Ibn Ziyad again. According to Abul Kalam Azad his letter read:

"Allah has extinguished the fire of mischief. He has resolved the differences and created unity. He had set right the communities case. Husain held out a promise to accept any of the three alternatives. Therein lies your as well as the communities welfare." 14

Maulana Azad further states that Ibn Ziyad was impressed by this letter and appreciated the role played by Umar. But Shimr opposed the proposals and said:

> "If Husain escapes without submitting himself to you, it is no wonder that he should in course of time gain power and popularity and that you should be regarded as humble and weak. Better it is that until

he has sworn allegiance he is not let out of your hold. I understand that Husain and Umar hold secret talks during the whole night.¹⁵

Abul Kalam Azad further maintains that this advice was approved of and Shimr was deputed with a letter containing the following text: "If Husain surrenders himself with all his companions, there should be no war and he should be sent to me alive. If he does not agree, there is no other alternative except war." Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, and Akbar shah Khan Nijibabadi hold that in this letter, Umar was severely admonished with a warning that he was not deputed to defend Husain and communicate recommendations in his favour. Umar was further warned that in the event of his failure to carryout the instructions Shimr was authorized to take from him the command of the army. 17

Sambhali and a Western scholar, L. Veccia Vaglieri in his article in the Encyclopedia of Islam on the authority of Tabari, writes that after Husain offered the three proposals, on this occasion Ibn Ziyad was given evil advice by Shimr (as exsupporter of Ali who had fought with him at Siffin); The governor would otherwise have been accommodating, but he was persuaded that he ought to force Husain to submit to Ibn Ziyad since he had arrived in the territory which was under his jurisdiction. Ibn Ziyad therefore, gave orders to Ibn S'ad either to attack the rebel, if the

later refused to comply with the conditions laid down, or to hand over the command of the troops to Shimr, who was the bearer of this order. He is said even to have added that if Husain fell in the fighting, his body was to be trampled on, because the man was a rebel, a seditious person. Ibn S'ad cursed Shimr, accusing him of having avoided an affair which otherwise would have ended peacefully.¹⁸

Several scholars like Abul Ala Maududi, Murtaza Ahmad Khan, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi and Hamiduddīn unanimously hold that Ibn Ziyad insisted upon the unconditional surrender of Husain. His commands were stern and absolute and Husain was informed that he must either submit to the command as faithful, or face the consequences of his rebellion.¹⁹

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his Maslah Khilafat holds that only two options were left for Husain i.e. either to surrender along with his party or to fight till death. He, however, preferred the second option.²⁰

Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr claims that when Husain was again asked to surrender and pay oath of allegiance, he refused to agree to the suggestion. Umar bin S'ad delayed in opening hostilities with Husain but Ibn Ziyad commissioned Shimr Dhi al-Joushan as his lieutenant with the

orders that if Umar starts fighting against Husain he should help him; otherwise he should put Umar to sword and take his place. Umar's entourage included about twenty chiefs of Kufah who insisted that the conditions proposed by Husain were fair enough and should be conceded. At last all these men changed sides and joined Husain to fight under him.²¹

According to the scholars like Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, Hamiduddīn and Khurshīd Ahmad Fariq, Ibn Ziyad ordered Umar bin S'ad to cut Husain's party off from the waters of Euphrates. Husain, however, instructed his men to allow the horses of enemy to have access to the waters. Husain then offered mid-day prayers.²²

According to Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, Murtaza Ahmad Khan and Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, Umar bin S'ad placed Shimr at the head of infantrymen who along with the cavalrymen surrounded Husain's party by the evening of Thursday, the ninth of Muharram. After the nightfall, Husain gave certain advices to his family members and also permitted his men to go away, if they desired so. He said that he was alone the target of the opponents but his brothers and nephews replied that they abhor to remain alive after him for they did not want to witness what they detested about him. The sons of Aquil bin Abi Talib said that their lives and their belongings and their kinsmen were ready to

fight for him. They were prepared to face any eventuality and meet the same fate. They said that it would be disgraceful to remain alive after him.²³

The scholars like Hamiduddīn, Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi and Allama Tabatabai (a Shia writer) hold that for eight days Husain and his party stayed in Karbala during which they were surrounded by the army of Ibn Ziyad. The siege narrowed day by day and the number of opponent's army increased. Finally, Husain with his household and a small number of companions was encircled by an army of thirty thousand soldiers. During these days Husain fortified his position and made a final selection of his companions. At night he called a meeting of his companions, warned them in a short speech that there was nothing ahead but death and martyrdom. He also added that the opponents were concerned only with his person, they are freed from all obligations so that anyone who wished could escape in the darkness of the night and save his life. Then he ordered the lights to be turned out and most of his companions, who had joined him for their own advantage, dispersed. Only a handful of about forty of his close aids and some of the Banu Hashim remained.²⁴

Several scholars like Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Qazi Zainul Abidin, Ghulam Rasul Mohr and Murtaza Ahmad Khan maintain that once again Husain assembled those who were left and put them to a test. He addressed his companions and Hashimite relatives, saying again that the opponents were concerned only with his person; each could benefit from the darkness of the night and escape the danger. But this time faithful companions of Husain answered each in his own way, that they would not deviate for a moment from the path of truth of which Husain was the leader and would never leave him alone. They said that they would defend his household to the last drop of their blood and as long as they could carry swords.²⁵

According to two scholars, Abul Kalam Azad and Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, the paternal aunt of Shimr, Umm-i-Banin bint Haram, was the wife of Hazrat Ali and whose offsprings were Abbas, Abdullah, Jafar and Uthman. All the four brothers were accompanying Husain in this expedition. Thus, Shimr was the paternal cousin of all the four brothers and also of Husain. He requested Ibn Ziyad for the protection of his relatives, which was granted to them. He, therefore, called all the four brothers and said, "you are my relatives from the paternal side. I have secured safety and protection for you." But they replied, "curse be on you. You gave us protection but there is no such safety for Husain." 26

However, Shimr handed over the letter of governor of Kufah to Umar bin S'ad who reluctantly agreed to comply with the address.

Armed Conflict

The scholars like Hamiduddīn, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, S. Abdul Haq, Qazi Zainul Abidīn and several others hold that early in the morning on the 10th of Muharram 61 A.H./10 Oct. 680 AD, Husain arranged his seventy companions in the form of a battalion. The flag was given to Abbas bin Ali. After this he prayed to Allah seeking His mercy, and then he addressed the Kufi notables reminding them that they were responsible for his arrival at Kufah. It was they who wrote to him again and again to come to Kufah and liberate the Ummah from the rule of Yazid, when he reached there, they deserted him and joined the army of that very ruler against whom they were ready to fight. However, he would not mind if they let him go back. In reply, the Kufans said that without taking oath of Yazid's Khilafah he could not move anywhere. Hearing this Husain said, "By Allah, I can't be as object as to accept Yazid's Khilafah. I can never accept this like a slave."27 According to Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, after Husain, some of his companions also made speeches but in vain. The Iraqis did not pay any heed to their speeches.²⁸

Several other scholars like Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Hamiduddīn, Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi and Qazi Zainul Abidīn unanimously hold that then the fighting started. At first one man from each side came to face another, but after a while general fight started. In fact, it was not a battle or encounter, for there was no match between the two sides. According to the sources there were four thousand well-armed troops in Kufan army while only seventy-two persons were on Husain's side.²⁹

The scholars Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi and Qazi Zainul Abidīn assert that the pre-dawn prayer was performed by Husain on Friday (others relate that it was Saturday), which was the tenth day of Muharram. He had with him thirty two cavalrymen and forty foot soldiers. He mounted his horse and placed a copy of the Quran before him. His younger son Ali bin Husain (Zainul Abidīn) was sick and weak. But he also made preparations to take part in the fight. Husain came forward and addressed the enemy troops telling them who he was, whose son and grandson he happened to be; what position he occupied; and whether it was good and just for them to fight the grandson of the Prophet.³⁰ According to some other scholars like Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, Taha Husain and Murtaza Ahmad Khan, Hur bin Yazid Tamimi was very much impressed by

Husain's address, therefore he left his own army and joined Husain and fought along with him until he was killed.³¹

According to Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Murtaza Ahmad Khan and Hamiduddīn, in the mean time Shimr advanced with his men and attacked Husain and his party. They engaged the enemy in ones and twos. If the numerous accounts of episodes of secondary importance are removed, the phases of the battle can be followed fairly and clearly. After Husain's speech, it was Zuhair bin al-Kays who exhorted their adversaries to follow Husain. As he received in reply only insolence and threats, he requested them not to kill him. Then they began to shoot arrows and duels took place.³²

Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi on the authority of Tabari asserts that it was broad daylight when Umar bin S'ad directed his army to advance. He summoned Duraid, the standard bearer of his forces, who then shot the first arrow towards Husain's party and addressed the troops of Ibn Ziyad and called upon them to bear witness that he had been the first to shoot an arrow. According to Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi and Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, the right-wing of the government troops led by Amr bin al- Hajjaj, attacked, but withdrew on meeting resistance, and the leader ordered his men not to engage in any more single combats. They preferred to go on shooting arrows from a distance. An assault and

an encircling movement made by the left wing on the orders of Shimr led the losses.³⁴

Result

Several scholars like Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, Sayyid Amīr Ali, Hamiduddīn and Qazi Zainul Abidīn hold that it was in the afternoon that Husain's party became narrowly encircled. His supporters fell fighting in front of him and the way lay open through to the Talibis who, until this moment, had not entered the field of action, and their massacre began. They fell dead fighting before him one by one. Many amongst the cousins and nephews of Husain were killed. The first to be killed was Ali Akbar, the eldest son of Husain, then it was the turn of the son of Muslim bin Aquil, then of the sons of Abdullah bin Jafar and Aquil, then of Qasim, the son of Hasan.³⁵

According to Asrar Ahmad and Amīr Ali who hold that another pathetic episode is the death of a child whom Husain had placed on his knees. An arrow pierced the child's neck and Husain on this occasion also collected the blood in his cupped hands and poured it on the ground, invoking Allah's wrath against the evil doers.³⁶

Assassination of Husain

According to the scholars like Moinuddin Ahmad Nadvi, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi, Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Abul Kalam Azad, Murtaza Ahmad Khan and several others who maintain that the opponents attacked Husain from every side, it was Zarab bin Sharik al-Tamimi who advanced first and struck down with his sword on the shoulder of Husain who fell down. His physical strength was totally lost. In such a condition his head was severed from his body. It is generally stated that this act was done by Shimr, but according to these scholars it was Sanan bin Anas who dismounted from his horse, severed Husain's head and threw it towards Khawli who then carried it to Ibn Ziyad.³⁷ Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr holds the same view point as discussed above. In addition to this he writes that after Husain was dead, his body bore marks of thirty-three cuts by lances and thirty-four by other weapons.³⁸

Several other scholars like Ghulam Rasul Mohr, Hamiduddīn, Qazi Zainul Abidīn and Amīr Ali hold that though Husain fought vigorously, but as was easily foreseen the battle of Karbala ended with the death of Husain and his male companions, among whom were several of his sons and cousins.³⁹ The scholars like Hamiduddīn, Murtaza Ahmad Khan and Abul Kalam Azad

assert that the number of martyrs who laid down their lives with Husain was seventy two. Muhammad bin Hanafiya, Husain's brother relates that seventeen of the martyrs were the progeny of Fatima, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad (SAW).⁴⁰ Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr relates that the day on which this tragedy befell was Friday, the 10th of Muharram, 61 A.H./10th of October, 680 AD. Husain was then of fifty four years and six and a half months age.⁴¹

To clarify a few points from the above discussion, it may be stated here that the tragedy of Karbala could have been avoided had Husain been taken alive to Yazid as he had desired, but Ibn Ziyad's insistence on unconditional surrender led ultimately to the black day of Karbala. Again Husain was prepared to submit to Yazid and live a life of a peaceful citizen and since the three alternatives suggested by him were not at all unreasonable. Ibn Ziyad's utter and inconsiderate insistence on a complete surrender was the reason of Husain refusing to surrender. Had Husain paid oath of allegiance to Yazid, he could have saved himself and his near and dear ones.

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- 3. *Ibid*, p. 22.
- 4. Asrar Ahmad, Hazrat Usman Zu al-Nūrain, op. cit., p. 51;

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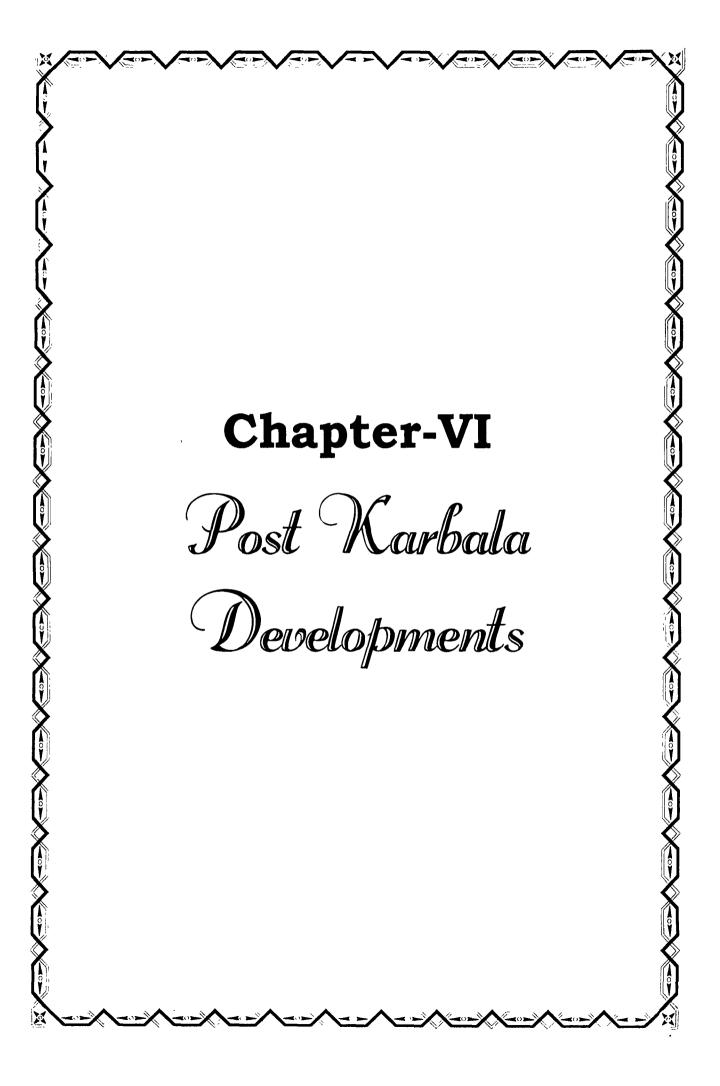
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- 38. Ibn Kathīr, op. cit., Vol. VIII, p. 188, cited by Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, op. cit., p. 228.
 - It is notable that all those who had taken an active part in killing Husain, were similarly dealt with. Later on, Mukhtar Thaqafi (not withstanding his other faults and failings) pursued and killed them.
- 39. Ghulam Rasul Mohr, op. cit., p. 147; Hamiduddīn, op. cit.,
 p. 192; Qazi Zainul Abidīn, op. cit., pp. 76-77; Sayyid Amir
 Ali, op. cit., pp. 72-73.
- 40. Hamiduddīn, *ibid*, p. 192; Murtaza Ahmad Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 111; According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who relates that likewise most of the prominent personalities of Banu Hashmi and *Ahl-i-Bait* were martyred. Historians and Urdu scholars have recorded the names of the following martyrs:

- (i) Muhammad bin Abi Sa'eed bin Aquil
- (ii) Abdullah bin Muslim bin Aquil
- (iii) Abdullah bin Aquil
- (iv) Abdur Rahman bin Aquil
- (v) Jafar bin Aquil
- (vi) Muhammad bin Abdullah bin Jafar
- (vii) Aun bin Abdullah bin Jafar
- (viii) Abbas bin Ali
- (ix) Abdullah bin Ali
- (x) Uthman bin Ali
- (xi) Muhammad bin Ali
- (xii) Abu Bakr bin Ali
- (xiii) Abu Bakr bin al-Hasan
- (xiv) Abdullah bin al-Hasan
- (xv) Qasim bin al-Hasan
- (xvi) Ali bin Husain
- (xvii) Abdullah bin Husain (Abul Kalam Azad, op. cit., p. 46).
- 41. Ibn Kathīr, op. cit., p. VIII, p. 189, cited by Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, op. cit., p. 228.



Family of Husain at Kufah

The next day after the tragedy of Karbala the Caravan of Ahl-i-Bait (Husain's family members) along with his head was sent to Ibn Ziyad to Kufah. There are, however, different reports regarding their treatment by Ibn Ziyad.

The scholars like Maulana Maududi, Abul Kalam Azad, Atiqur Rahman Sambhali, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi and several others hold that Ibn Ziyad sat in the government house at Kufah and before him was laid Husain's head. These scholars further state that after Husain's head was placed before Ibn Ziyad he struck it with the stick, turning it around. At the moment Husain's family was ushered into the court. They lamented, cried and wailed. Urdu writers like their Arabic predecessors are in fact divided into two groups on the issue of the treatments of Hazrat Husain's head: A group regards that the incident took place at Kufah; the other believes that it happened at Damascus. According to the scholars of the first group like Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Abdul Razzag Malihabadi, Abul Kalam Azad, Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi and Shauk Amritsari, Ibn Ziyad's behaviour was quite insulting as he knocked out some teeth with his cane, when he repeated this process of striking, Zaid the son of Argam, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW), cried out, "Remove your cane from these lips. By Allah! These two eyes of mine have witnessed that

the Prophet (SAW) used to kiss them." Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi writes that the Companion who admonished Ibn Ziyad was Ans bin Malik who objected Ibn Ziyad. But some scholars like Abu Bakar Ghaznavi and Taha Husain claim that the incident took place at Damascus where Yazid brought his cane and turned the head of Husain. The Sahabi Abu Barzah standing nearby was heard to say "Gently, O Caliph I had seen those very lips kissed by Prophet Muhammad (SAW). Some scholars like Sayyid Mahmudun Nasir, William Muir and Percy Sykes do not mention the name of the Companion and simply say that it was an old man who rebuked Ibn Ziyad.

However, there is a third group represented by Khurshīd Ahmad Fariq who on the authority of Tabari states that Husain's family and other survivors were treated by Ibn Ziyad with respect. He provided them all possible help and made arrangements for sending them to Damascus.⁶

Burial place of Husain's Head

There are different reports about the place where Husain's head is buried. The subsequent history of the burial place of Husain's head has puzzled many scholars. Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi and Arshad Amanullah and some others have made researches on the issue and came to conclusion that as many as eight different places are reported to be burial place; the most probable place is

Madinah where it was sent along with the family of Hazrat Husian.

The possible burial place of Husain's head, reported by Abbasi
and Arshad Amanullah are examined as follows:

Karbala

It is a place mentioned by the scholars like Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi and Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui, who report that the head was placed by Ali Zainul Abidīn in the tomb at Karbala with the rest of his body, which later became his shrine, and has remained there to the present day. Arshad Amanullah claims that this statement has no authentic proof.⁷

Madinah

Another set of scholars which include Abu Bakr Ghaznavi, Arshad Amanullah, Abbasi and M.Y.M. Siddiqui state on the authority of Ibn S'ad that it was given by Yazid to Husain's sister, who carried it to Madinah and buried near the grave of her mother Fatima, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) in Jannat al-Baqi. Strangely, Abbasi also reports that it was buried near the burial place of Hazrat Hasan.

Damascus

Abu Bakr Ghaznavi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr and some other scholars like Shauk Amritsari and Abbasi state that it was buried according to another report at Damascus in a place called the Garden-gate. They argue that in the eastern end of the Great

Umayyad Mosque there is a small chamber where the head is supposed to lie, concealed by a black silk curtain and enclosed in a silver niche. Not far away lies the shrine of St-John Baptist, which perhaps contains the head of the Baptist.¹⁰

Asqalan

Asqalan is a place near Damascus. Another report according to Abbasi and Arshad Amanullah is that it was buried in Asqalan.¹¹

Cairo

Scholars, Abbasi and Arshad Amanullah further report that it was removed from Asqalan and afterwards buried in Cairo and a monument was erected over it, called the 'Sepulchre of Husain the martyr.' Abbasi also describes another report that Husain's head was brought from Asqalan to Cairo after five hundredth year of the Hijra by a soldier of the Ubaidite tribe.¹² Contrary to this, Arshad Amanullah on the authority of Ibn Taimiyah claims that Husain's head was buried neither in Asqalan nor in Cairo.¹³

Najaf

It is another burial place mentioned by Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, Arshad Amanullah and Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui who cite the report that it was buried beside his father Ali, i.e. al-Najaf¹⁴ Arshad Amanullah further claims that this statement is

also baseless. He argues that the head was not severed from the body at all; therefore the place mentioned has no authenticity. 15

Yazid's Reservoir

It is another burial place mentioned by Abbasi, Arshad Amanullah and Abu Bakar Ghaznavi who report that it was kept in the Yazid's reservoir for thirty years, afterwards in 99AH, Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik removed it and buried it in the graveyard. But Arshad Amanullah on the authority of Ibn Tulūn claims that this statement is fabricated (mauduh). 17

Reservoir of Banu Umayyah

According to another report mentioned by a set of scholars that include Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui and Abbasi that it was placed in the reservoir of Banu Umayyah at Damascus for seventy five years and afterwards the Abbasids removed it and buried it there. According to Arshad Amanullah this story also is not authentic at all. 19

Abu Bakar Ghaznavi, a scholar of some prominence claims that the majority of the *Ulama* firmly believe that the actual burial place of Husain's head is Madinah's famous graveyard i.e. *Jannat al-Bagih*.'²⁰

Family of Husain at Damascus

Khurshīd Ahmad Fariq on the authority of Tabari states that Husain's family and other survivors were sent along with his head

to Yazid to Damascus.²¹ But Maududi on the authority of the same historian claims that the survivors of Husain's family were sent along with the heads of all the martyrs to Yazid to Damacus.²² Several other scholars like Aslam Jairajpuri, Hamiduddīn, Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi and Fazl Ahmad describe that when the grief-stricken family entered Yazid's court, Husain's head was laid beside him. The sight of it brought a stream of tears from the eyes of Fatima and Sukayna, Husain's two daughters. Noticing this Yazid addressed the bereaved family and said, "All this took place without my knowledge. If I had been there, I must have taken a lenient view of Husain's step and must have forgiven him.²³ Khurshīd Ahmad Fariq describes on the authority of Tabari that when Ibn Ziyad's messenger came to Yazid and wished him his success on the death of Husain, Yazid wept and said "these are my close relatives. If Ibn Ziyad had ever been related to Husain he could never have committed this nefarious act."24 This is supported by several other scholars like Abul Ala Maududi, Aslam Jairajpuri, Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, Abul Kalam Azad, M.Y.M. Siddiqui and who hold that when Yazid became aware of this tragic event, tears came out of his eyes and he said, "I should have been very well pleased without the death of Husain; God may curse the son of Sumayya. If I had captured Husain, I would have forgiven him. Allah Bless him."25 This is also supported by Ibn

Kathīr, Ibn Athīr and Ibn Asakir and several other scholars of the past.²⁶

Sayyid Fayyaz Mahmud maintains that Yazid was displeased at what had happened and even protested to Zaynab, who was now head of the family (Ahl-i-Bait), that he had neither intended Husain's death nor ordered such a thing, and that Obaidullah had exceeded his orders.²⁷

Treatment by Yazid

Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi on the authority of Tabari and some other scholars like Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Wahīduddin Khan and Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi hold that Yazid ordered that the house adjoining the palace be vacated for Husain's family. He also took steps to compensate for the plunder by his troops. He made inquiries from each lady and gave her double of what she had lost. According to Abdul Qayoom Nadvi and Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi when Yazid's wife came to know that Husain had been slain, she felt shocked and started weeping. She along with other ladies of her household called on Husain's family and did her best to console them. 29

It is clear from the above discussion that the women's of Husain's family and his ailing son Ali (Zainul Abidīn) were brought before Yazid. He treated them kindly. He felt sorry for the conditions in which they were placed.

Qazi Zainul Abidīn and Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi on the authority of Ibn Athīr and several other scholars like Abul Kalam Azad, and Akbar Shah Khan Nijibabadi assert that on the occasion Yazid assembled the people and said:

"Do you know the factors which gave rise to this development? It is the result of Husain's error of judgment. Husain thought that his father is superior to Yazid's father and his mother is superior to Yazid's mother and his grand-father is superior to Yazid's grand-father and he himself is superior to Yazid and therefore, he is more entitled to rule than Yazid. Although his notion that his father was superior to my father is not correct, for, Ali and Muawiyah fought against each other and the world has witnessed the verdict. As to his thought that his mother was superior to my mother it is undoubtedly true. Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet of Allah, is far greater than my mother and likewise his grandfather is greater than my grand father. I swear by Allah and say that whoever believes in Allah and the Day of Reckoning can never suppose that any man is superior or even equal to the Prophet of Allah."

But Husain erred in his judgment and he forgot this verse of the Holy Quran:

"O God! Lord of Power (and Rule), Thou givest Power to whom thou pleasest, and thou strippest off Power from whom Thou pleasest: Thou enduest with honour whom Thou pleasest, and Thou bringest low whom Thou pleasest: In Thy hand is all good. Verily, over all things Thou hast power."³⁰

(Al-i-Imran, 26)

According to Moinuddin Ahmad Nadvi, Abdur Razzag Malihabadi and Hamiduddīn, Yazid was not at all aware of what transpired at Karbala, for he was at Damascus. He had only ordered to take the oath of allegiance from Husain and did not order to fight and assassinate.31 Wahīduddīn Khan opines that if Yazid had been with Husain at Karbala and the former would have offered the third condition, the latter would surely have agreed to it. By all possible means he would have saved his life.³² According to Murtaza Ahmad Khan, Yazid disowned responsibility for the acts of his officials and laid the responsibility of Husain's tragic end upon Ibn Ziyad.³³ But it is difficult to assess how far he was right. Either Yazid or Ibn Ziyad, whoever might have been responsible for the event of Karbala, it must be admitted that it is one of the most tragic chapters of Islamic history. It was never expected or even thought that such a harsh treatment would be meted out to the beloved grandson of Prophet Muhammad (SAW).

Sending the family of Husain to Madinah

M.Y.M. Siddiqui on the authority of Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Athīr and Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi on the authority of Tabari and several other scholars like Abul Kalam Azad and Qazi Zainul Abidin hold that after Husain's family's short stay at Damascus,

they were resolved to set out for Madinah. In fact Yazid offered them two alternatives: Either to stay at Damascus and he would look after them or if they desire to go to Madinah he would make arrangement for their journey. Accordingly, he commanded Numan bin Bashir to provide them with all necessary provisions, and send them home under a safe convoy. They further state that at the time of their departure Yazid said to Ali Zainul Abidīn:

"God curse the son of Marjana. If your father had fallen into my hands I would have granted him any condition he desired, and would have tried my level best to save Husain utilizing all possible means lying in my power or even at the cost of my own children.³⁴"

He further assured to him of providing to them whatever they desired or needed. Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi on the authority of Tabari and Qazi Zainul Abidīn on the authority of Ibn Athīr state that in recognition of this good behaviour of Yazid, Sukayna used to say, "I have never seen any ungrateful person who was more hospitable and more kind in treatment than Yazid." 35

Abul Ala Maududi, Taha Husain and several other scholars claim that though Yazid sent the family of Husain back to their home as his honoured guests, however, there is nothing to show that he reprimanded or deposed or gave any other punishment to Ibn Ziyad.³⁶

Aftermath of the Tragedy

The tragedy of Karbala raises many questions. They are of juridical as well as political nature. The Muslim *Ummah* and its great thinkers are dismayed in finding their answers.

However, many scholars, theorists and thinkers have definite opinions. The most disturbing question is about the revolt of Husain against Yazid, leading to doctrinal discussion about the permission or provision of rebellion or uprising against the establishment in Islam. Hazrat Husian despite all oppositions from his well-wishers as well as the Sahabah rose against the ruling Khalifah.

In this regard the great historian Ibn Khaldun in his Muqaddimah states that the Companions of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) of Makkah and Madinah and also those who were in Syria, Iraq, as well as their followers, were of the opinion that a revolt against Yazid, even though he was wicked, was not permissible, because such a revolt would result in trouble and bloodshed. They refrained from it and did not follow Husain's example or support his move. Strangely, neither did they disapprove of him and consider him at fault but they became neutral considering it as his independent judgement. They also maintained that one should not fall into the error of declaring those people who opposed Husain at fault because they opposed Husain and did not come to his aid.³⁷

M.Y.M. Siddiqui on the authority of Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Athīr holds that since it was Ilusain's independent judgment that is why no one except few supported him in his move; Due to this fact Hazrat Abdullah bin Jafar, Abdullah bin Abbas, Muhammad bin al Hanafiya and all others in Makkah and Madinah took oath of allegiance to Yazid and considered him fit for the Khilafah.³⁸

The most ticklish issue is about the assassination of Hazrat Husain: Did he die as a martyr or as a rebel of the Islamic state? The Muslim opinion or so to speak the views of the Urdu scholars are divided on the issue.

Ibn Khaldun who opines that one should not fall into error of declaring that his murder was justified because it was the result of independent judgment, even if one grants that he on his part exercises the correct independent judgement.³⁹

The great Imam Ibn Taimiya in his 'Husain wa Yazid' declares that Husain's revolt did not result in any of the benefit of Dīn or Dunya and nothing was achieved. Instead, it created a situation in which, cruel people got the opportunity to have a control upon the grandson of Prophet (SAW) and put him to martyrdom. His revolt and his martyrdom gave birth to many fitnas (crises). Had he stayed at his own place, ugly incidents would not have occurred. Whatever was the cause he should not have done so; it only resulted in the failure and chaos.⁴⁰

The second aspect was the reaction of the people of Makkah and Madinah. They received the distressing tragedy with sadness, regret and anger. They were sad because of the atrocity, which had taken place at Karbala. They felt regret because the followers of Husain at Karbala had failed in their help and support. They were angry at the Umayyad regime because it had committed a dreadful crime.

According to the scholars like Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Sarwat Saulat and Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi the tragedy of Karbala caused a sense of horror throughout the Muslim world. The Muslims of Makkah and Madinah were greatly shocked and enraged at the savagery of Yazid perpetuated on the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW).⁴¹

Fazl Ahmad holds that the tragedy of Karbala made Yazid the most hated man in the Muslim world. 42 While several other scholars like Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Hamiduddīn and Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi hold that the news of Husain's martyrdom was received with a great shock by the Islamic world, especially in Hijaz where the people did not like Yazid from the very beginning and many influential personalities who had not taken the oath of allegiance in his favour were greatly grieved. They broke the oath of Yazid and took new oath of allegiance on the hands of Abdullah bin Zubair. 43

Edward G.Browne quotes the words of Al-Fakhri:

"This is a catastrophe whereof I care not to speak at length, deeming it alive too grievous and too horrible. For verily it was a catastrophe than which naught more shameful hath happened in Islam. Verily, as I live, the murder of Ali was the supreme calamity; but as for this event, there happened therein such foul slaughter and leading captive and shameful usage as cause men's flesh to creep with horror. And again I have dispensed with any long description thereof because of its notoriety, for it is the most celebrated of catastrophes. May God curse every one who had a hand therein, or who ordered it, or took pleasure in any part thereof! From such may God not accept any substitute or atonement! May He place them with those whose deeds involve the greatest loss, whose effort miscarries even in this present life, while they fondly imagine that they do well!"44

The tragedy of Karbala as says William Muir:

"Decided not only the fate of the Caliphate, but of Muhammdan kingdoms long after the Caliphate had waned and disappeared. Who that in the East has seen the wild and passionate grief with which, at each recurring anniversary, the Muslims of every land spend the live-long night, beating their breasts and vociferating unweariedly the frantic cry—Hasan, Husain!, Hasan, Husain!— in wailing cadence, can fail to recognize the fatal weapon, sharp and double-edged, which the Umayyad

dynasty had thus allowed to fall into the hands of bitter enemies.⁴⁵

According to Amīr Ali, "the tragedy of Karbala caused a thrill of horror throughout Islam, and gave birth in Persia to a national sentiment which afterwards helped the descendants of Abbas to destroy the Ummayad."46 Maulana Maududi in his Shahadat Imam Husain claims that it was a religious job that Husain proved by sacrificing himself in the field of Karbala.⁴⁷ Atiqur Rahman Sambhali on the authority of Ibn Taimiya says that Husain was killed innocently which is a proof of his martydrom.⁴⁸ He further writes that nothing can be said regarding this event as it was only the will of Allah which resulted in the martyrdom of Husain.49 Sayyid Mahmudun Nasir states that the massacre of Husain and his family was an event of greatest significance. The rift that existed between the Hashimites and the Ummayyads was further strained and the dissension ultimately weakened the Umayyad power and continued to act as a potent factor for the disintegration of their empire. Whatever may be the historical consequence of the death of Husain at Karbala, one thing is clear that it divided the Muslims into hostile camps for all time to come.50

P.K. Hitti says:

"The blood of Husain even more than that of his father proved to be the seed of the Shiite church.

The Shiite party was born anew on the field of Karbala. Henceforth the first ten days of Muharram came to be observed by the Shiite Muslims a battle cry that ultimately proved to be one of the causes of the fall of the Umayyad dynasty. The division of Muslims into two hostile camps was harmful to the progress and prosperity of future Islam."51

According to Hamiduddīn the news of the tragedy had already reached Madinah. As soon as it was known that the remaining members of Ahl-i-Bait had returned, the ladies belonging to Hashim's house rushed out wailing and weeping to greet them. At Madinah, their return caused a wild outburst of grief and lamentation. Everything around intensified the catastrophe. In fact, it deepened the rift between the Shiah and other Muslims. Due to this event many movements emerged which resulted in the downfall of Umayyads.⁵²

The third attitude was the attitude of Umayyad regime especially of Ibn Ziyad who insisted upon the unconditional surrender of Husain. Had he agreed to any one of Husain's conditions the tragedy of Karbala would not have occurred. The scholars like Maududi, Sayyid Amīr Ali, Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, Abul Kalam Azad and Sarwat Saulat hold that Yazid had been nominated king on hereditary basis against the accepted principles of filling the vacancy to the Khilafah by election and selection. Also as a candidate for the office of Khilafah he was

comparatively less qualified than Husain.⁵³ Fazl Ahmad claims that efforts of Amīr Muawiyah produced no enduring results. The empire he took such pains to build up and to hand over to his son, stayed in his own family on more than a few years. And Yazid got nothing out of it except guilt and an abiding infamy.⁵⁴

From the above discussion it can be said that on the one side there was sympathy and a high regard for Husain. On the other hand it was only the Umayyad regime and its supporters who presented him as a 'baghi', that is, as a rebel against the established authority, and thus condoned his murder by Yazid, but their opinion was opposed not only by those who despised the Ummayyad regime, but also by those Muslims who refused to recognize that the murderers had acted according to their consciences and at the same time sought pretexts to refrain from blaming either the rebel Husain or the Companions and Tabiun who had remained neutral in order to avoid war. In this almost universal exaltation of Husain due to his descent from the Prophet (SAW) and to the conviction that he had sacrificed himself for an ideal, it is not possible to make a clear distinction between the opinions of various historians and scholars, except in the case of certain privileges and attributes which only the Shi'i scholars accorded him.

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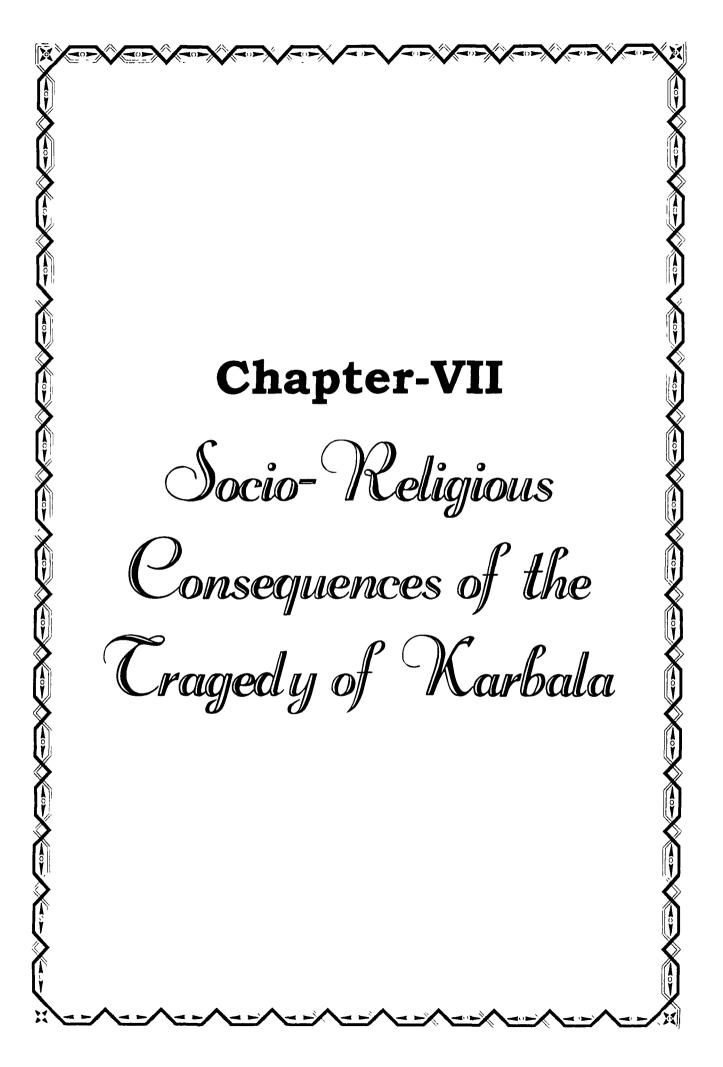
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- Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, ibid, p. 266; Arshad Amanullah, op.
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The news of the tragedy of Karbala leading to Husain's martyrdom was received with great shock by the Islamic world, especially in Hijaz. In its immediate effect, the tragedy of Karbala sent a thrill of horror throughout the Muslim world. The Muslims of Makkah and Madinah were greatly shocked and enraged due to the martyrdom of grandson of Prophet Muhammad (SAW). The news of Karbala tragedy ran space throughout the length and breadth of Islamic World. The account of the tragedy added fresh fuel to the hatred and indignation of the people of Madinah.

The historians have described Karbala as a brief episode, which began in the early hours of the morning on 10th Muharram 61A.H./10th October 680 A.D., and ended in the same afternoon. But this seemingly short event has left lasting impressions and impact on both the contemporary society as well as on the later Muslims.

Impact on the Contemporary Society

According to G.R. Hawting in its immediate effect after the tragedy of Karbala, there were two opposition movements in particular which were in contact with Ibn Zubair. One was a revolt of the people of Madinah who had publicly withdrawn their allegiance to Yazid, the other opposition movement involved Kharijites, apparently from both Basrah and parts of Arabia.¹

The martyrdom of Husain and his followers did not give Yazid peace, for among the other pretenders to the throne, Ibn Zubair still remained at Makkah and though he had been an aspirant to the same power that Husain had grasped, and was therefore during his life time one of his rivals, he now dared to call loudly upon the faithful to revenge his death. He depicted in glowing words the marvellous character of Husain, set him up as a martyr, called to mind his particular virtues, his watching, his fasting, his lofty heroism, all the frightful prayers, his circumstances of his taking off, and denounced in unmeasured terms the perfidy of the people of Iraq, especially of the Kufans, the blackest villains, as he assumed them, on the face of the earth. Never, he exclaimed, did this martyr prefer the sound of music to the reading of the Quran, the pleasures of the chase to pious conversation. As he uttered the words doubtless his hearers made mental comparisons quite to the disadvantage of Yazid.²

The scholars like Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, Qazi Zainul Abidīn, Hamiduddīn and Chirag Hasan Hasrat hold that when the news of martyrdom of Husain reached Makkah, Abdullah bin Zubair assembled the people, addressed them and said:

"Iraqis are the worst people in the world and the Kufans are the worst among the worst who again and again wrote to Husain, consciously invited him there and took oath of allegiance to him. But at the

arrival of Ibn Ziyad in Kufah they changed their sympathy and martyred Husain who was a pious, generous Muslim and legitimate to Khilafah".³

Then Ibn Zubair wept and the people reacted and declared him the genuine candidate for Khilafah and accepted him as the legitimate Khalifah. In this way people of Makkah made Zubair as their Khalifah.

The Scholars Abul Ala Maududi, Qazi Zainul Abidīn and Hamiduddīn hold that in Madinah agitation ran high against the Umayyads on the pathetic scene of Karbala. The people of Madinah sent a deputation to Yazid demanding redress of wrong done to Ali's family. Being greatly enraged, the people of Madinah disowned Yazid as Khalifah and drove away his governor. However, according to Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi Yazid remained in deep thought how to control Ibn Zubair without causing any damage to the sanctity of the Kabah. He sent a Syrian army under Muslim bin Uqbah against the people of Madinah.

Two scholars, namely, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi and Qazi Zainul Abidīn, in particular and several others in general hold that Yazid sent a Syrian army under Muslim bin Uqbah against rebels of Madinah. Muslim bin Uqbah after camping near Madinah sent a message to the people of that city saying that Amīrul Muminīn Yazid dislikes any bloodshed. So it will be better to obey him, otherwise he would have to use sword to accomplish

the task. Muslim waited for three days to motivate them but the people of Madinah decided to fight. In response to it, Muslim then ordered to invade Madinah that resulted in a battle known as the battle of Harrah. It is a place where the Ansars and the Madinites fought the Syrian army. But they fought bravely and forced the Syrian army back. But by the bravery and experience of Muslim bin Ugbah the Madinites was defeated. It is said that the Syrian army sacked Madinah and desecrated it for three days. It is reported that many eminent people like Abdullah bin Hanzla, Fazl bin Abbas bin Abdul Mutalib, Muhammad bin Thabit bin Qais, Abdullah bin Zaid bin Asim, Muhammad bin Amr bin Hazam Ansari, Wahab bin Abdullah bin Zam'a, Zubair bin Abdur Rahman bin Auf, Abdullah bin Naufal bin Hars bin Abdul Mutalib were killed in this war. The victorious army entered Madinah and Muslim bin Ugbah continued massacre and plunder for three days, killing nearly one thousand people including three hundred Ansars and eminent personalities of Quraish. On the 4th day Muslim stopped the war and ordered for taking oath of allegiance. Those who accepted the orders were kept alive and those who refused to accept them were put to death. It is said that on On 27 Dh ul-Hijjah 63 A.H. Muslim bin Uqbah entered Madinah the same day Muhammad bin Abdullah bin Abbas bin Abdul Mutalib was born,

who later on became famous as Muhammad Abul Abbas al-Safah, the eventual first Khalifah of Abbasids.⁶

There are, however, different reports by different writers regarding the incident of Harrah. Abul Ala Maududi on the authority of Tabari claims that the pathetic event of Harrah took place at the end of 63 A.H. i.e., during the last days of Yazid's life. He described this event by saying that the people of Madinah declared Yazid fasiq wa fajir (sinful and antagonist) and cruel person and started rebellion against his establishment. They expelled his Amil (commander) out of the city and appointed Abdullah bin Hanzla as commander. Yazid on receiving the information deputed Muslim bin Uqbah (nicknamed as Musrif bin Uqbah) along with twelve thousand army to attack Madinah and ordered him to invite the people of the city to take oath of allegiance to him. In case they refused to do so, inflict war on them. After taking a victory handover the Madinah to the army for 3 days. The army went to invade the city on these directions. Madinah was conquered and army was allowed to wander and enjoy its victory for three days as per orders of Yazid. The city was haunted by the soldiers attempting killings and plunder. The inhabitants of the city were massacred. Maududi quotes words of Imam Zuhri that seven hundred eminent persons and ten thousand people were killed. These uncivilized and wild soldiers, according

to Maududi, entered the houses and raped the women on mass scale. Maududi also claimed on the authority of Ibn Kathīr that about one thousand rape victim women became pregnant.⁷

Maududi exclaims that though the rebellion of people of Madinah was unjustified, was such a treatment suitable for a rebel Muslim population or even non-Muslim rebels and Kuffars as per the Islamic law? But it was not the issue of any other city but it was directly related to the city of Prophet (saw) regarding which he (Prophet) had said that any person who will have nefarious designs against it (Madinah) will be melted in Hell by Almighty Allah and the person who will inflict pain on the people of Madinah will be subjected to curse by Allah, the Angles and all human beings. Allah will not accept his any service in lieu of this sin on the day of Qayamat (the Day of judgment). Maududi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr further says that on these bases a group of Ulama have justified cursing Yazid. Imam Ahmad also supports them at one place. But the second group of Ulama prohibited from saying it because they fear that in such a situation there lies the possibility that his parents or any other Sahabah may be subjected to such sort of disgrace.8

Sayyid Amīr Ali claims that the inhabitants of Madinah were subjected to torture. Mosque of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) was turned into stable. The eminent personalities of Madinah were

done to death. The colleges, hospitals and other public property were destroyed.

Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi claims that an army sent by Yazid was given a fight by the people of Madinah at a place called Harrah in 63 A.H./682 A.D. The Madinites were defeated with terrible loss. Yazid allowed the commander of his army Muslim bin Uqbah to do whatever he liked in Madinah for three days. 10 Nadvi quoting Ibn Kathir writes:

"It is difficult to narrate the revolting atrocities perpetrated in the city of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) during these three days. Yazid wanted to remove every trace of an obstacle to his kingdom and strengthen it, but God rendered all his efforts futile and he failed to achieve his ends."

He further writes that Yazid did not live long after this incident. His reign lasted only for four years and he died on the 13th of Rabi al-Awwal, 64/9th November 683 A.D.¹²

Contrary to this M.Y.M. Siddiqui also on the authority of Ibn Kathir clearly writes that it is necessary to mention that regarding this incident of Harrah different writers have put forward biased and derogatory reports that have no bearing with the facts. 13

Besides, Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi and Mir Mahmud Ali Qaisar hold that after the tragedy of Karbala there remained peace and harmony for three years. There was only a single obstacle in the person of Ibn Zubair who stayed at Makkah and tried to make propaganda against the established government.¹⁴

Arshad Amanullah on the authority of Bukhari says that since the event of Harrah took place during the Khilafah of Yazid, therefore he is held responsible for it. but it is not true. The truth is, that by ordering invasion on Madinah, Yazid committed a blunder. But it should be borne in mind that in order to maintain law and order (peace) every Khalifah would have done what Yazid did. In fact the root cause of this incident were the people of Madinah who took a lead and initiated the event; they revolted against the Muslim Khalifah, which is prohibited. It was the reason why Muhammad bin Hanafiya and Abdullah bin Umar (R.A.) not only refrained from disobeying Yazid but tried their level best to persuade people to avoid the conflict. Hazrat Abdullah bin Umar even told his family members and relatives that he considers that man most treacherous, who will take a pledge to anyone on behalf of Allah and Prophet and will take a sword to fight against the same person later on. One who will break his pledge with Yazid among you will have no relation with me. 15 Arshad Amanullah quoting Masud Ahmad describes this statement of Hazrat Abdullah bin Umar as follows:

 The incident of Harrah was a conspiracy against Yazid and Muslim rule. 2. Hazrat Abdullah bin Umar considered Yazid the right Khalifah, so he disliked any revolt against him. He further says that the people of Madinah committed a second mistake when they did not take advantage of the three days gap but instead stayed firm on their stand. 17

However, the scholars like Sarwat Saulat, Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi and several others claim that the root cause of the incident of Harrah was the tragedy of Karbala. 18

Several Urdu scholars like, Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi and Qazi Zainul Abidīn hold that after completing the task in Madinah, Muslim bin Ugbah started for Makkah with his army. During the journey the condition of Muslim bin Uqbah, who was already suffering from illness, worsened and he called Hasuin bin Numayr and posted him as chief of the army and then died. The people who escaped Madinah also had assembled in Makkah. Khawarij also decided to help Ibn Zubair and came to Makkah. In this year all the people of Hijaz had accepted Ibn Zubair as Khalifah at the occasion of Hajj. Then the war started on Muharram 64 AH and on the next day Hasuin bin Numayr installed catapult on the mountain of Abu Oubays and started throwing stones on Kabah and encircled the city of Makkah. The siege and storming continued till 3 Rabiul Awwal 64 AH. The stoning by Syrian army dismantled the walls and roof of

the Kabah and the black stone was torn into pieces. ¹⁹ In addition to this Maududi on the authority of Ibn Athīr claims that the Umayyad Army pelted stones on Kabah which not only destroyed one of its walls but it caused fire to it as well. ²⁰

Muhammad Munīr holds that the Syrian army first came to Madinah, killed many men and caused severe damage to the town. Then they proceeded to Makkah and besieged the town but Yazid died in the meantime and the siege was lifted.²¹

Two scholars, Abdul Qayoom Nadvi on the authority of Ibn Athīr, and Moinuddīn Ahmad Nadvi on the authority of Tabari, assert that the martyrdom of Husain shocked the Muslims of Makkah and Madinah. Ibn Zubair further inflamed the sentiments of the Makkans against the Umayyads and took this opportunity to declare himself as Khalifah.²²

Maududi concludes the events and says that these acts indicate that these rulers were desperate in maintaining and protecting their reign even at the cost of most sacred and valuable things.²³ Arshad Amanullah claims that the invasion on Kabah was an un-recommended move which Yazid had to conduct because of the uncompromising attitude of Hazrat Abdullah bin Zubair who established his Government in Hijaz even though the whole *Ummah* was united under Yazid's Khilafah.²⁴ On the other hand, Abbasi and Banarsi hold that it is necessary to say that this

incident has been misinterpreted and fake reports have been put forth due to the prejudice and bigotry of some authors. These reports are totally wrong and have no reality in them.²⁵

However, with Yazid the rule of the Abi Sufyan's branch ended. It was transferred to Marwan bin Hakam²⁶ and ultimately to the Abbasids.

According to Sayyid Mahmudun Nasir, the tragedy of Karbala had its repercussions on the history of the Umayyads. The Kufans pleaded for revenge and the Kharijis who mostly settled in Basrah lamented their desertion of Ali after the battle of Siffin and rose on behalf of the Alids. But an even more dangerous adversary for the Umayyads was Abdullah ibn Zubair who, on learning about the martyrdom of Husain, rose at Makkah and claimed the Khilafah for himself in 61/680 A.D.²⁷

Muhammad Husain, a Shiah writer of Iran, holds that greatest cause of the advancement of Shism, however, was the event of Karbala, which revolutionized the Islamic world. This painful event of 61 A.H., which is known as the tragedy of Karbala, was the most momentous of its kind. The effects of the martyrdom of Husain were felt by all, even those living in the most distant regions of the Muslims territory, with the result that many groups of people began to declare their love for Ali and his descendants. The numerical strength of the Shias increased

dramatically with the same rapidity with which tyranny of Banu Umayyah was intensified. The love for Ahl-i-Bait was also increasing in the hearts of the common people. It is related that Imam Sh'abi said to his son:

"Oh my son, the world can not harm the values which religion has brought, but those things which were made and adorned by the world can all be destroyed by religion. Just reflect upon Ali and his affairs. Did the descendants of the Umayyads ever relinquish their oppression? They concealed the merits of Ahl-i-Bait. They tried to hide the realities of the situation and never left off singing the praises of their ancestors. But all their plans were reversed."²⁸

The same author quotes the words of Imam Zamakhshari as well as the said statement of Sh'abi: "Our condition was very perplexing. If we loved Ali there was fear of murder, and if we became enemies to him, our ruin was certain."²⁹

Mahmud M. Ayub on the authority of al-Majlisi in the Encyclopedia of Religion writes that the death of Husain produced an immediate reaction in the Muslim community, especially in Iraq. It is reported in al-Majlisi's Bihar al-Anwār that when people of Kufah saw the head of Husain and the pitiful state of the captives they began to beat their breasts in remorse for their betrayal of Husain. This reaction produced an important movement known as al-Tawwabīn (the repenters), which nurtured a spirit of

revenge for the blood of Hussain and provided fertile soil for the new Ashura Cult.³⁰ The movement of Tawwabun actually aimed at the elimination of all the Killers of Hussain. Under the heading of Sulaiman b. Surad Khuzai they fought an unsuccessful battle against Ibn Ziyad and his army, but the latter movement of Mukhtar Saqafi achieved its end by Killing Ibn Ziyad and other assassins of Hazrat Husain in a series of wars. Several scholars like Ghulam Rasul Mohr, M.Y.M. Siddiqui, Moinuddin Ahmad Nadvi and Rashid Akhtar Nadvi hold that after inviting Husain to Kufah, letting him alone in the field of Karbala some of the Shiah groups five years later thought to recompense for their sins. So they established a warrior groups by the name of Tawwabun and proceeded to Syria to have the revenge of the murder of Husain. One their prominent leaders was Sulaiman b. Surad al-Khuzai. In Iraq itself they have to confront with the army of Ibn Ziyad at a place called Ain al-wid'a. In this fierce fighting the group of Tawwabun got finished and Ibn Ziyad emerged as complete victorious. This event occurred in 65AH/685A.D.³¹

In addition to this the scholars Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, Hamiduddīn and others write that Mukhtar b. Abu Obaid Thaqafi was an experienced and political personality. Although initially a devotee and follower of Hazrat Husain to take advantage of the conditions. After the Karbala event he stood calm and traveled to

Makkah and Kufah to examine the situation. He provoked Husain's son Ali Zainul Abidīn and his brother Muhammad b. Hanafiya for rebellion but they denied. After the degeneration of Tawwabun Mukhtar became the leader of the Shias of Kufah. In 66AH/685AD, he rose with the mission taking revenge of the murder of Husain and captured Kufah and Mosil where Ibn Zubair had the power. Later Ibn Zubair's brother Musaib b. Zubair proceeded against Mukhtar in 68/687 near Kufah a tough war took place in which Musaib defeated and killed him. In this way the fitna (crsis) emerged through Mukhtar Thaqafi ended.³²

Besides this while discussing the socio-cultural impact of Karbala, a Shia Scholar, Sadiq Naqvi, writes that an event, in history, is assessed not by its magnitude but by its impacts over the humanity. It is valued high when it goes to elevate the human standards of virtues. The historians follow the path through which it had flown down to them, carefully measuring its intensity against the time before they fix a value to it. Without the slightest doubt, it can be said that no event in history had ever produced greater results as Karbala did. Its impact on society was manifold. On one side it paved the way for spiritual path and on the other it elevated those who identified themselves with it, to such heights that humanity still feels proud of them. Karbala was a battle fought on principles. It was not the battle between two rulers but it

was the struggle between two principles, philosophies and values.³³

Another Shia scholar, Lallan Nazmi writes that the tragedy of Karbala sparked off the national sentiments of Arab clans—Bani Abbas appeared on the horizon. They finished Banu Umayyads. They were in no way better than Umayyads. They were despotic. They treaded in the foot steps of Banu Umayyads and were against the truthful and truth.³⁴

Professor Fazl Ahmad claims that the efforts of Amīr Muawiyah produced no enduring results. The empire he took such pains to build up and to hand over to his son, stayed in his own family no more than a few years. Yazid got nothing out of it except a big crop of guilt and an abiding infamy.³⁵

In support of this Maududi on the authority of some historians like Tabari, Ibn Athīr, and Ibn Kathīr reports that during the Khilafah of Yazid three major events took place. In this regard Maulana Maududi on the authority of the above historians writes that during Yazid's rule, Husain was martyred in the most atrocious manner along with his children, relatives and friends. Secondly, he ordered a general massacre of Madinah that is the event of Harrah. And thirdly, he had the sacred Kabah destroyed and burnt.³⁶

According to Masudul Hasan the consequences of tragedy of Karbala were fatal. The tragedy of Karbala did not have much of political repercussions. The Umayyads instead of being dislodged came to be further entrenched in power. The Alids did not succeed in their bid to capture power. Even when the Umayyads were overthrown in 750 AD., power was captured by the Abbasids and not by the Alids. The tragedy of Karbala thus did not have any repercussion on Islamic polity.³⁷

Yahya Armajani writes that the death of Ali and his two sons Hasan and Husain was the culmination of a series of unsuccessful political moves on the part of the partisans of Ali to secure the Khilafah. Very likely in any other situation, the ambush at Karbala would have been recorded as another political failure. Indeed, at the time the incident did not create much excitement. In the subsequent history of Islam, however, the ambush at Karbala assumed important religious significance. Ali and Husain became more formidable foes of the established Khilafah through the deaths than their lives. Husain came to be considered the prince of Martyrs and the anniversary of his death on the 10th of Muharram (680) became a rallying occasion for opponents of the Khilafah. With the result of these Martyrs, the followers of Ali separated themselves from the main body of Islam and formed a religiopolitical community with a theology and philosophy of its own.38

M.Y.M. Siddiqui in his Tarikh Tahzīb Islami while discussing the impact of Husain's martyrdom holds that Karbala event is really a painful event in Islamic history. But it has been described in a diversified manner hiding the originality and factual status of the whole event. According to the author, there are two historical facts which give the clue of the incident to some extent.

- 1. Non-cooperation of the Companions of Prophet (SAW) and other well-wishers of Husain regarding his visit to Kufah.
- 2. Lack of followers of the Sunnat-i-Husaini in the later period.

Whatever the self engineered details of the Karbala event may depict, the reality is that the event neither changed the demography nor the status of the Islamic state, neither had it any impact on Islamic society or any sort of religious, moral and management changes took place.³⁹

Impact on the Later Muslims

Due to the impact of tragedy of Karbala and the martyrdom of Husain on later Muslims many movements emerged in the Muslim world. Secondly, in commemoration of this event the first ten days of Muharram are observed annually as days of sorrow and grief by Muslims, especially by the Shiah's. The *chehlum*, the fortieth day after the murder of Husain, is also observed as the day of mourning because on that day, according to the reports, the head of Husain was returned by the Umayyad forces and buried

along with the body at Karbala. Thirdly, the tragedy of Karbala was shrouded in a mist of mysticism and invested with such religious bias as to make it test of faith in Islam. In the welter of such confusion the Muslims were naturally divided into numerous sects, which, in so far as the tragedy of Karbala was concerned, were broadly grouped under the popular denomination of 'Shiah' and 'Sunni.'

Hasan Qasim Murad in his article in 'Hamdard Islamicus' quotes R. Strothmann who places the beginnings, if not of the sectarian Shiism, at least of the religious Shiism as early as the times of Ali himself. The author regards Husains martyrdom as the seed of Shiism by which perhaps he means the origins of sectarian shiism.⁴⁰

On the other hand the martyrdom of Husain occupies a particularly important place in the religious life of the twelver Shiah, for whom it represents the supreme sacrifice on behalf of the people. They share in the way he was deserted in his hour of need, grief for his suffering, and are anxious to atone for it and avenge it. Throughout history the cry of "vengeance for Husain" has acted as a compelling revolutionary call among adherents of twelver Shiism. Its most manifestation has been the Iranian Revolution of 1978-1979, where the Pahlavi Shah was denounced as Yazid.

Nor was the impact of Husain's martyrdom limited to Twelver Shiism. In Fatimid Egypt, for example, rites of remembrance were held regularly, although the Ismailiyah subsequently gave this event much less emphasis in their religious lives.⁴¹

Prof. Waheed Akhtar writes that Imam Khumani's success in bringing about the Islamic revolution in Iran and through it influencing the entire Muslim world lies in the fact that he made the Ashura movement an instrument continuing process in human history for evolving a better society that could safeguard the principles of justice, social equity, cultural independence of the East. The tragedy of Karbala has also its impact on Muslim polity, culture, mysticism and philosophy, its impact on socio-economic reforms in Muslim world, its impact on political upheavals in the Muslim world and its impact on fine arts and other creative expressions of the Muslim ethos etc.⁴²

Yearly, on the tenth day of Muharram the tragedy is rehearsed in Persia, in India, in Turkey, in Egypt, wherever a Shiite community or colony exists; and who has been a spectator, though of alien faith, of these Ta'ziyas without experiencing within himself something of what they mean to those whose religious feeling finds in them its supreme expression? It all comes back: the wailing chant, the sobbing multitudes, the white

raiment red with blood from self-inflicted wounds, the intoxication of grief and sympathy.⁴³

This tragedy was the origin of the passion plays, which are acted annually not only in Persia, where Shiism is the official religion but also throughout Asia wherever Shia Muslims gather together. Indeed the passion plays represent a force of poignant grief which it would not be easy to estimate, and the scenes will remain unforgotten. Moreover, it was as a result of this tragedy that the Shiah or "Faction" of Persia came into existence. It is asserted by Arabic writers, among the earliest being Al-Yaqubi of the ninth century.⁴⁴

Apart from this the religious basis and doctrines of Shiah sect was also the result of this tragedy. But this important matter has a religious side. In accepting it as authoritative, the Shiahs naturally reject as usurpers Abu Bakr Siddique (R.A), Umar Farooq (R.A.), and Uthman Ghani (R.A.), and deem Ali (R.A.) and his descendants, the *Imams*, to be the only true successors of the Prophet (SAW). So exalted is Ali, the "hand of God", that the saying runs, "Muhammad is a city of learning, Ali is its gate". It was because of the fact that after this tragedy, bloody wars have raged between the Sunnis and Shiahs, and even today union between these two divisions of the Muslim world appears to be as unattainable as ever. It is important to note that Sunni Mujtahids,

or Doctors of the Sacred Law, follow the interpretation of that law, as laid down by the founders of the four orthodox sects, viz. Hambali, Shafi, Hanafi and Maliki, and this interpretation is immutable. Shiah Mujtahids, on the other hand, while following the laws of the Quran as interpreted by the *Imams*, may modify their meaning or interpret it a new.

It may further be observed that Shiahs make pilgrimages to Karbala, the scene of the martyrdom of Husain, and Karbalai is a title which ranks only second to that of 'Haji'.⁴⁵

However, this tragedy was the origin of the Persian passion plays, which are acted annually not only in Persia where Shiism is the official religion, but also throughout Asia whenever Shia Muslims gather together.

Some scholars say that ever since the Iranian Shii dynasty of the Buyids popularized the Muharram ceremonies in the fourth/tenth century the Karbala drama has been the object of fervent annual lamentations. In the sixteenth century, the introduction of Ta'ziyah (Passion play) by the Iranian Safavid dynasty strengthened the popular character of the ceremonies, which together with rawdah Khani (recitation of the sufferings of martyrs), Zangir Zani (Self-flagellation) and other street processions formed distinct cult despite the opposition of the religious hierarchy, who disapproved of them on account of their

crude dogma and irreligious historians.⁴⁶ So far was Maulana Ahmad Raza Khan Barelvi is concerned he too has forbiddin these customs of Muharram and called them unlawful. He prohibited even watching them. It is his *futwa* (decree) that one should not watch the Ta'ziya.⁴⁷

Dr. M. Ershadul Bari of Dhaka University, Bangladesh holds that the commemoration of Ashura, the 10th day of Muharram on which Husain embraced martyrdom in Karbala, played a significant role in making the Islamic Revolution in Iran a success. The martyrdom of Husain acted as a constant source of inspiration for the Iranian people throughout the revolution.⁴⁸

In a declaration issued on 31 October 1971, Imam Khomeini also depicted the far-reaching impact on the accession of Umayyads thus:

"The greatest disaster that befell Islam was the usurpation of the rule by Muawiyah from Ali, which caused the system of rule to lose its Islamic character entirely and to be replaced by a monarchical regime. This disaster was even worse than the tragedy of Karbala and the misfortunes that befell the lord of the martyrs, and indeed it led to the tragedy of Karbala. The disaster that did not permit Islam to be correctly presented to the world was the greatest disaster."

Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi on the authority of Maqrizi writes that the Ismaili Fatimids of North Africa, and then of Egypt and Syria (297/567-989-1171), who claimed Alid descent and derived their name from the Prophet's (SAW) daughter Fatima, introduced mourning rituals into their Khilafah. The monument known as the Ras al-Husain or al-Mashhad al-Husaini in Cairo became the center of the mourning ceremonies of Muharram. The Egyptians believed, and still believe, that Yazid transferred Husain's head to Cairo (as discussed in chapter VI) where it was buried. From 360/970-71, the mourning assemblies on the eve of 10th Muharram were enthusiastically organized in Cairo and other parts of the Fatimid Khilafah. The markets were closed and the towns plunged into deep mourning.

After the extinction of the Fatimid Khilafah the Ayyubids, who ruled over Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo, Diyarbakar and the Yemen from 564/1169 to the 15th century, reverted to the Umayyad tradition of hostility towards Ali's house. They made Ashura a day of rejoicing and festivity.⁵¹

However, Allama Tabatabai, a Shia writer, claims that the tragic death of Husain played a major role in the spread of Shiism, especially in regions away from the center of the Khilafah such as Iraq, the Yemen, and Persia.⁵²

Some scholars like Sayyid Fayyaz Mahmud while discussing the effects of Husain's martyrdom hold that his tragic death was the worst thing that could have happened to Islam or the

Umayyads. At first, especially when the Umayyad power was on the rise, it was but a ripple on the surface of events, but ultimately the wrong done to the house of Ali left many with a deep sense of grievance. The rallying—cry of the party of Ali was now 'Husain the martyr' and it was adopted by a new element in the nascent world of Islam, the neo-Muslims, (Mawali), who began to chafe against the inferior social status given to them in the Arab world. What was worse, the sense of dispossession became an article of faith with the Shian-i-Ali, who now became Shiites and developed separate and secret loyalties, and not long afterwards, a code of their own. Earlier differences took new forms and whole tribal groups aligned themselves on different sides. Shiaism found a home first in Iraq, which had age-long Persian associations, and then shifted to Persia, where the political climate was more favourable.53

These sectarian groups, Shiah and Sunni, regardless of the fact that they subscribe to the essential articles of Islamic faith regard each other, at best, as heretics. Inspite of the fact that all the Muslims without sectarian distinctions hold in utter contempt those who were directly or indirectly responsible for the tragedy of Karbala and hold the memory of Husain in high reverence and regard.

The event of Karbala has attained a mythic quality in Muslim, especially Shiite, tradition. For the Shia Karbala is the supreme example of the pattern of suffering and martyrdom which has afflicted their *Imams* and the whole of the Shiite community. Each year the day of Karbala, 10 Muharram, is marked by Shiites as their greatest festival, the passion plays and flagellants procession which accompany it illustrate the feeling which memory of the event inspires. It is only to be expected, therefore, that it is virtually impossible to disentangle history from the legend and hagiography with which it is associated. Even Sunni Muslims are moved by the fate of the Prophet's grandson.⁵⁴

Professor Masud-ul Hassan exclaims that it is strange that the memory of tragedy of Karbala is kept alive by Muharram celebrations every year but the memory of the tragedy of the assassination of Hazrat Uthman is not kept alive in the way it should have been kept to commensurate to the historical importance of the event.⁵⁵

However, the Umayyad Khilafah lasted for ninety years from 661-750. Though name of this line is soiled with the blood of Karbala, but it must not be forgotten that more Muslim conquests are due to this than to any other dynasty. 56

Apart from this, the nature of the tragedy of Karbala captivated every man who read about it or heard about it. then, in

addition to Muslims non-Muslims were also affected by it, both at the level of ordinary people and of men of culture. This was the case in past and it still continues. A numerous creative works of poetry, which non-Muslims have composed in which they express their emotions about the martyrdom of Husain. There are numerous manifestations of the rites of remembrance which non-Muslims undertake in some areas (the Indian sub-continent, for example) to express their veneration for the revolution and their respect for Husain.

Rich tributes have been paid by intellectuals belonging to many walks of life to Husain and Karbala. The following are the few amongst various statements of the intellectuals inspired by Karbala:

Thomas Carlyl (b.Dec.4, 1795 -d. Feb.5, 1881, London), British Historian and essayist has reacted as:

"The best lesson which we get from the tragedy of Karbala is that Husain and his followers were the rigid believers of God. They illustrated that numerical superiority does not count when it comes to truth. The victory of Husain despite his minority marvels me." 57

Edward Gibbon (b.May 8, 1737-d. Jan. 16, 1794, London), English rationalist historian and scholar best known as the author of The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire opines:

"In the history of Islam especially the life of Husain stands unique, un-approached and unapproachable by anyone. Without his martyrdom Islam would have extinguished long ago. He was the saviour of Islam and it was due to his martyrdom that Islam took such a deep root, which is neither possible nor imaginable to destroy now. In a distant age and time the tragic scene of the death of Husain will awaken the sympathy of the coldest." 58

Rabindranath Tagore (b.May 7, 1861, Kolkata -d.Aug 7, 1941),
Bengali Poet and Nobel Laureate suggests:

"What did Husain teach us? This material world in which we live loses its balance when it loses contact with the world of love. When this happens, we have to pay for lowly things with our soul. At this juncture only that person can help us, who by the sacrifice of his life, re-establishes the supremacy of the human soul that live in the kingdom of love. And when we achieve spiritual freedom, the artificial glitter of material ambitions attracts us no more." 59

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (b.Nov.14, 1889, d. May 27, 1964, New Delhi) remarks:

"There is a universal appeal in this martyrdom Husain sacrificed his life but he refused to submit to a tyrannical government. This sacrifice is a beacon light of guidance for every community and every nation."60

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, (b. Oct.2 1869, d. Jan. 30, 1948, Delhi) maintains:

"I read about Karbala while I was still very young. I was truly amazed I have nothing new to offer to the people of India. I have studied the life of Husain very carefully and am now convinced that India's Salvation lies in following the path shown by Husain." 61

Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti Ajmiri, (12th century a Sufi Saint of Chishti Order) writes:

"Shah ast Husain badshah ast Husain

Deen ast Husain deen panah ast Husain

Sar dad na dad dast dar dast-e-Yazid

Haqqa ke binaye la ilah ast Husain"⁶²

Husain is the king Husain is the Emperor,

Husain is faith Husain is the saviour of faith,

He gave his head rather giving his hands

In the hands of Yazid. By God Husain

Is the founder of La-ilah (The doctrine of Islam).

These couplets are inscribed on the Holy Shrine of Khawaja Sahib in Ajmir (Rajasthan).

Dr. Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) known to the world as the Poet-Philosopher of the East devoted his life to awaken the Muslim Ummah and to make it pursue the path of spirituality, knowledge, jihad, sacrifice and martyrdom.

Dr. Iqbal had an abiding faith in Ahl-i-Bait. He was intensely moved by the tragic event of Karbala so much so that in many of his couplets he carried a universal message to the mankind for emulating Hazrat Husain. His elegies on the martyrdom of Husain stand unmatched and are an eye-opener to all those who are giving a mere lip-service to Islam. In the following couplets Dr. Iqbal gives vent to his sentiments and feelings on Imam Husain. Allama Iqbal writes:

"Jis tarah mujhko shahid-e-Karbala sey piyar hay Haq ta'ala ko yatimon ki dua sey piyar hay".

Dr Iqbal expresses his extreme love for Husain. Just as Almighty Allah loves to listen to the invocation of the orphans, he also has the same kind of love for the martyr of Karbala.

"Sidq-e- Khalil bhi hai ishq sabr-e- Husain bhi hai ishq Marika-e- wujud main Badr-o- Hunain bhi hai ishq"63

Dr. Iqbal says that love of Allah manifests itself in many ways. Prophet Ibrahim (AS) had suffered many difficulties in the cause of Allah. He accepted being thrown into the fire, and the fire was turned into a blooming garden.

Professor Gopichand Narang (b.Feb.11, 1931 Blouchistan) expresses his sentiments as follows:

"The Muharram alums are revered by most Hindus like the Ram lila processions. The way virtuous lord Rama fought against the tyrannical Ravana, so did

Husain against Yazid, the only difference being that Husain got martyred while Rama defeated Ravana."64

From the above discussion it can be concluded that after its immediate effects the tragedy of Karbala created an upheaval in The Muslims Islamic world. could not tolerate assassination of Husain and it shocked the whole Ummah. A wave of hatred spread all over against the Umayyads. The people turned against Yazid for there was a great respect for Husain with regard to his ancestral background. Karbala tragedy not only caused chaos but also posed a serious threat to the unity of Islamic world. Thus this event was a major factor in the overthrow of Umayyad rule. Among its immediate results were the revolts and rebellions combined with bloody wars which continued for twelve years. It gave birth to the concept of hierarchy and regionalism, diluting the life long tradition of Khilafah —the unified command for the whole community, leading to sectarian influence on the whole scenario resulting in the emergence of many movements. Banu Umayvah were dethroned and were done to death in such a manner that it is difficult to find any parallel in the history.

After the death of Yazid the government ran into the hands of other people of Umayyads and it was then taken from them by Abbasids. Abbasids succeeded only because of their anti-Umayyad propaganda. Fatimids also reigned Africa for a long period in the

back drop of Karbala event. Sunni and Shiah differences got generated right from this tragedy. Hence the immediate result was the creation of Shiah and Sunni schools of thought. Thus the Muslim community got divided into two main sects.

The impact of tragedy of Karbala on the *Ummah* also resulted into the inter community clashes and conflicts on the issue of Khilafat resulting in wars which took a heavy toll of life besides destroying and causing damage to the cultural and religious affairs. There emerged a clear cut demarcation in the thought and belief of the intellect class and the literature was fabricated to satisfy the needs of a particular school of thought which led to the communication gap preventing original sources and factual position to reach the masses, building confusion that has got birth in the due course of time.

Karbala event has been the favourite episode for the shiah sect who consider weeping and mourning on this day a means of blessings. The life long tradition of passion plays and breast beating by the Shiah sect as a means to mourn the martyrdom of Hussain during the days of Muharram has far reaching impact on the socio-religious developments. The Shias feel obliged and convinced with the passion plays to which Sunnis are a bit indifferent giving a sense of dual understanding of the whole episode. In short it can be inferred from the study of the Karbala

tragedy and post Karbala period that the great religion and its firm believers who shared the common code of conduct and unified command were forced to infuse and divide on the basis of varied perception of the incident that apparently came into being by sheer negligence and mishandling of the plethora of situations that got generated by the demands and the deeds of the masses of the region.

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- 5. Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, op. cit., p. 73.
- 6. Qazi Zainul Abidīn, op. cit., 88-90; Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, op. cit., pp. 77-78.
- 7. Tabari, op. cit., vol. IV, pp. 372-79 cited by Abul Ala Maududi, Khilafat-o-Mulukiat, op. cit., pp. 169-70. For full details see Ibn Athīr, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 310-13; Ibn Kathīr, op. cit., vol. VIII, pp. 219-21.
- 8. Ibn Kathīr, Al-Bidaya wa al-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. 223, cited by Abul Ala Maududi, op. cit., p. 171. Maududi describes that the details of the saying of Imam Ahmad bin Hambal which have

been quoted by Ibn Kathīr are that once Abdullah the son of Imam Ahmad asked him about the heavenly ruling regarding cursing Yazid he replied that how he will not curse the person who has been cursed by Allah. He then recited the verse from Holy Quran which read:

"Then, it is to be expected of you, if ye were put in authority, that ye will do mischief in the land, and break your ties of kith and kin? Such are the men whom God has cursed" (Muhammad, 22-23).

After citing this verse Imam said what else can be the example of violating peace and spreading evil as Yazid has committed. This saying of Ahmad has been noted by Muhammad bin Abdur Rasul al-Barzanji in his Al-Isha'a fi Ashrat al-Sa'a and Ibn Hajr in Al-Sawaig al-Muhriga. But Allama Safarini and Imam Ibn Taimiya say that the authentic sources indicate that Imam Ahmad did not like to curse Yazid. The prominent scholars who support the idea of cursing Yazid include Ibn Jauzi, Qazi Abu Yala, Allama Taftazani and Allama Jalaluddin Suyuti and those who are against this are the great Imam Ghazali and Imam Ibn Taimiya. Maududi's own observation is that the people who are sinful and commit such atrocities can be cursed e.g., it can be said that may Allah shower curse on those who are cruel but to curse a particular person permanently is not genuine because if he would have been alive and if the Almighty Allah may pardon him after his repentance and if he is dead we don't know his last status at

the time of his death and the state of affairs he faced. So we must first refer to the wrong deeds of such persons and abstain from cursing them. But at the same time it does not mean that we must appreciate Yazid and write Radhi Allah-o-Anhu with his name. Once in the meeting of Umar bin Abdul Aziz a man while referring to Yazid used the word Amīrul Mūminīn with his name. Then he got very angry with him and subjected him to the punishment of twenty Kodas. (whip)

(Ibn Hajar Asqalani, Tahzīb al- Tahzīb, Hyderabad 1911 vol. XI, p. 361. For full details see Maududi, Khilafat-o-Mulukiat, op. cit., pp. 170-172).

Contrary to this Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi quotes Qazi Abi Bakar bin Arabi:

"And the story refers to that Imam Ahmad considers Yazid great and has placed Yazid in the list of pious Sahabah and Tabiun whose sayings are followed and considered as source of learning. More to it he has discussed him before Tabiun just after Sahabah. So there are no evidences of Yazid's bad characters as has been reported by some historians. Don't they feel ashamed on their baseless attempts. (Kitab al-Awasim p. 232. cited by Abbasi op. cit., p. 52).

Imam Ghazali in reply to Imaduddin Abul Hasan Ali Al-Harasi who belongs to Shafi school of thought (d.503 AH) declared that saying Radhi Allah-o-Anhu to Yazid is jaiz (permissible) as well

as Mustahab (desirable) as he was a pious Muslim and a Mūmin.

He further writes:

"And Yazid was a good Muslim and it is not true that he murdered Husain or ordered the same. So when Yazid is not guilty of this murder then how is it justified to blame him of killing Husain and dislike him. It is against the Islamic teachings to suspect a Muslim. Almighty Allah says, "Keep off from suspicion as some sorts of suspicion are most sinful." Prophet has also conveyed the same. Therefore the person who thinks that Yazid has ordered the murder of Husain or was pleased by such act must realize that he is a fool. It is difficult to trace the origin of such controversies if we take the example of an ordinary kingdom. Then how is it possible to find out the reality of Husain's tragedy, which has taken place in the past and has been forwarded by historians in a biased manner? Therefore it is a difficult issue, which cannot be verified in the light of available evidences. So when we are not clear about an incident and the factors responsible for it then how can we blame a person who was a responsible Muslim, a Khalifah and desirable for the title of Radhi Allah-o- Anhu or even is prayed in our every prayer where we refer Mūminīn as he was a Mūmin (Dafyat al-'Ayan li ibn Khalilkan vol. I Cairo, p. 465. For full details see Hafiz Salahuddin Yousuf, Mah Muharram aur Maujūda Musalman op. cit., pp.48-52).

Ibn Kathīr referring to the verdict of Ghazali and Al-Harasi has also prohibited from blaming Yazid. As he was a Muslim and it is not proved that he was with the decision of Husain's murder.

Abbasi on the authority of Ibn Kathīr who quotes Ghazali and says:

"And Imam Ghazali has proscribed from blaming yazid because he was a Muslim and it has not been proved that he was satisfied with the murder of Husain. As for saying Radhi Allah-o- Anhu to him it is justified and we are praying for him whenever we refer to Muslimīn and Mūminīn in our prayers." (Al-Bidaya wa al-Nihaya, vol. 12, p. 173. For details see Abbasi, op. cit., pp. 52-55).

In support of this Arshad Amanullah claims that we must not talk ill of Yazid because:

(I) The command of the army invading the city of Constantinople was in the hands of Yazid. Prophet Muhammad (SAW) has assured that "whosoever firstly invades Constantinople will be having highest place in Jannah" (Sahih Bukhari, Ma al Fatah, vol. VI, p. 102)

This hadith is considered as the proof of Yazid's Khilafah and for his pardon, as is reported by Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan that "from this Hadith it becomes clear that Yazid is heavenly blessed." (Aun al-Bari la Hal Ad Lat al-Bukhari, vol. V, Qater 1983, p. 391).

- (11) It is prohibited in Shariah to curse a particular person even if he may be a traitor. Hamār a Companion of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) was many times warned because of his drinking habit. Once a companion of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) cursed him but Prophet Muhammad (SAW) prohibited and said "don't curse him because he loves and keeps dear Allah and his Prophet (SAW). (Abdur Razzaq, Kanz al-Amal fi Sanan al-Aqwal wa al-Afa'l, vol. V, p. 507. See also Ibn Taimiya, Minhaj ul- Sunnh, Urdu tr. Ghulam Ahmad Hariri, Lahore 1965, pp. 425-27. For full details see Ibn Taimiya, Husain wa Yazid, Urdu tr. Abdur Razzaq Malihabadi, Lahore, pp. 38-42).
- (III) In Shariah the grave sins have been narrated with strong condemnation. Therefore any particular person cannot be referred to as *jahnamy* (Sinner). May be it so that Almighty Allah may have pardoned him.
- (IV) One of the reasons that made Yazid an unwanted person may be the incident of Harrah where the battle was fought by his orders in which a number of respected Companions and great Tabiun were martyred. But it was an attempt to safeguard the government, which was justified by Shariah. The same mistake was committed by Hazrat Ayesha (RA) and Hazrat Ali (RA) in the battle of Jamal which resulted in the martyrdom of thousands of Companions. But despite this fact we love and respect them both.

- (V) Several verses and Hadith order us to love the Mūmins. If we cannot be so affectionate to Yazid as we are to Sahabah, Solihīn (right ones) and Awliyā (holy man) but we can love him to the extent we love Muslims. (Haditha Karbala Sabā'ī Sazish ka Natījah, 'Muhaddith', Banaras, June 2000, pp. 42-44).
- 9. Sayyid Amir Ali, Mukamal Tarikh Islam, op. cit., p. 75.
- Syed Abul Hasan Nadvi, The life of Caliph Ali, op. cit., p.
 229.
- 11. Al-Bidaya, Vol. VIII, 222, cited by Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, ibid, p. 229.
- 12. Ibid, p. 226 cited by Syed Abdul Hasan Ali Nadvi, ibid p. 229.
- 13. Ibn Kathīr, op. cit., Vol. VIII, pp. 219-24 cited by M.Y.M. Siddiqui, Banu Hashim aur Banu Umayya ke M'aashrati T'aluqat, op. cit., p. 79. For these biased and derogatory reports regarding the incident of Harrah, see Ibn Athīr, al-Kamil Vol. IV pp. 111-21.
- 14. Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, Khilafat Muawiyah was Yazid, op. cit., pp. 268-269. Mīr Mahmud Ali Qaisar, Millat Islamia ki Tarikh, Hyderabad 1992, p. 256.
- 15. Bukhari, Ma 'al-Fatah, Vol. 13, p. 68 cited by Arshad Amanullah, op. cit., p. 40.

- 16. Masud Ahmad, Sahih Tarikh al-Islam wa al-Muslimīn, Karachi, 1980, Vol. II, p. 291 cited by Arshad Amanullah, op. cit., p. 40.
- 17. Arshad Amanullah, ibid, p. 40.
- 18. Sarwat Saulat, op. cit., p. 138; Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, op. cit., p. 57; Moinuddin Ahmad Nadvi, op. cit., p. 57.
- 19. Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, op. cit., pp. 78-79; Qazi Zainul Abidīn, op. cit., pp. 90-92: Rashid Akhtar Nadvi, op. cit., pp. 108-111.
- 20. Ibn Athīr, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 170, cited by Abul Ala Maududi, Khilafat-o-Mulukiat, op. cit., p. 172. According to Hitti the Kabah was rebuilt by Ibn Zubair on the withdrawal of the Umayyad army.
- 21. Muhammad Munīr, Islam in History, Delhi, 1999, p. 115.
- 22. Ibn Athīr, Al-Kamil, p. 40, cited by Abdul Qayoom Nadvi, Tarikh Millat, Voll. III, p. 76. Tabari, op. cit., vol. VII, p. 379, cited by Moiuddīn Ahmad Nadvi, op. cit., vol. II, p. 57.
- 23. Abul Ala Maududi, Khilafat-o-Mulukiat, op. cit., p. 172.
- 24. Arshad Amanullah, op. cit., pp. 40.41.
- 25. Abbasi, op. cit., pp. 268-72, Ali Ahmad Banarsi, op. cit., pp. 132-38. For these reports regarding the incident of Harrah see Al-Bidaya wa al-Nihaya, vol. VIII, pp. 217-224.

- 26. Muawiyah b. Yazid succeeded his father. The oath of allegiance in his favour was taken on 14th Rabi al-Awwal 64/10th November 683. Most of the historians and scholars unanimously hold that he was pious and mild but he wielded the scepter only for a short period. He retired to private life, fell ill and died at the age of 21 (or a bit less as reported by others). The Umayyads assembled and swore allegiance to Marwan b.Hakam on the 3rd Dhi-al-Qada 64/22 June, 684 AD but he died a year later. He was succeeded by Abdul Malik bin Marwan. The Marwan's branch continued to rule for a long time until the Abbasids wrested power from them and ruled for several centuries.
- 27. Syed Mahmudun Nasir, A Political History of the Muslims, op. cit., p. 20.
- 28. Allama Shaikh Muhammad Husain, The Origin of Shiite

 Islam and its principles, Qum Iran, 1982, pp. 33-34.
- 29. Imam Zamakhshari, Rabi al-Abrar, cited by Allama Shaikh Muhammad Husain, Ibid, p. 34.
- 30. Al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwār, vol. 45, pp. 108-115, cited in the Encyclopedia of Religion by Mahmud M.Ayoub, vol. I, pp. 462-63.
- 31. Ghulam Rasul Mohr, op. cit., pp. 152-153; M.Y.M. Siddiqui,

 Tarikh Tahzīb Islami, op. cit., pp. 143-45; Moinuddīn Ahmad

- Nadvi, op. cit., pp. 75-82; Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, op. cit., pp. 118-132.
- 32. Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, op. cit., 337-347; Hamiduddīn op. cit., pp. 196-201. See for details Ghulam Rasul Mohr, ibid, M.Y.M. Siddiqui, ibid, Moinuddīn Nadvi, ibid, Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, ibid.
- 33. Sadiq Naqvi, The Socio-cultural Impact of Karbala, cited in Red Sand edited by Mahdi Nazmi, op. cit., pp. 213-220.
- 34. Lallan Nazmi, Imam Husain the Benefactor of Mankind, cited in Red Sand (ed.) Mehdi Nazmi, pp. 13-15.
- 35. Fazl Ahmad, op. cit., p. 147.
- 36. Tabari, vol. IV, pp. 372-379; Ibn Athīr, vol. III, pp. 310-313; Ibn Kathīr, vol. VIII, 219-221 cited by Maulana Maududi, op. cit., pp. 167-169, 172. For further details see Masudi, Muruj al-Dhahab, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 64, 78, 81.
- 37. Masudul Hasan, Hazrat Uthman Ghani, Delhi 1999, p. 216.
- 38. Yahya Armajani and Thomas M. Ricks, Middle East Past and Present, 2nd (ed.), USA 1986, p. 62.
- 39. M.Y.M. Siddiqui, Tarikh Tahzīb Islami, op. cit., pp. 135-136.
- 40. Hasan Qasim Murad, Origins of Shiism according to western Islamicists, 'Hamdard Islamicns' vol. 5, No. 2, Summer, 1982, pp. 43-52.

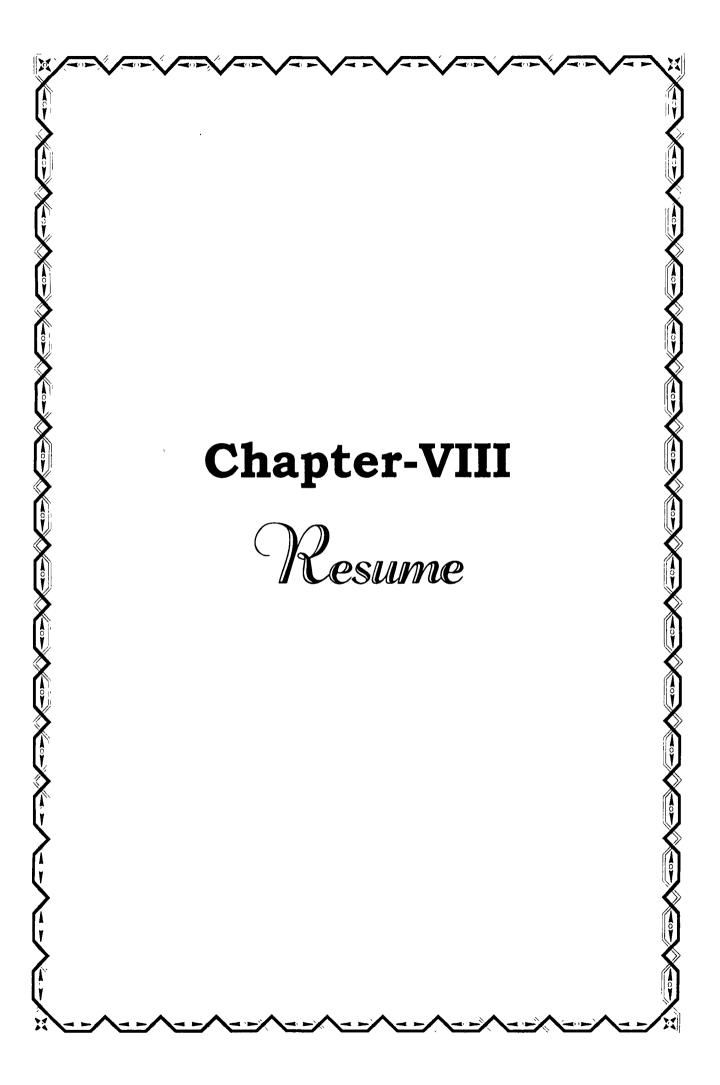
- 41. I.K.A. Howard, Husain bin Ali, Encyclopedia of Religion,
 London 1987, vol. VI, p. 538.
- 42. Prof. Wahīd Akhtar, Karbala: Turning point in the History of Islam, 'Message of Thaqalayn', vol. 2, Nos 3, 4, Winter 1995/96 p. 210.
- 43. Edward G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia, vol. I, Cambridge (London), 1951, p. 227.
- 44. Percy Sykes, History of Persia, vol. I, 3rd (ed.), London 1951, p. 542.
- 45. *Ibid*, p. 544.
- R. Strothman, Taziya in Encyclopedia of Islam, Ist. Ed. p.
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- 47. Maulana Ahmad Raza Khan, Irfan Shariat, vol. I India, p. 15.
- 48. Dr. Irshadul Bari, Teachings of Ashura and their Application in the Islamic Revolution in Iran, 'Message of Thaqalayn', vol. III, Nos. 1,2, spring and summer 1417/1996 p. 103.
- 49. The declaration was issued from Najaf in condemnation of Shah's plan to impose on the nation the celebration of two-and-a-half millennia of monarchy. *Ibid*, p. 113.
- 50. Maqrizi, Khitat, p. 490 cited by Syed Athar Abbas Rizvi, vol. II, op. cit., p. 289.
- 51. Ibid, p. 390.

- 52. Allama Tabatabai, op. cit., p. 60.
- 53. Sayyid Fayyaz Mahmud, op. cit., p. 63.
- 54. G.E. Von Grunebaum, Muslim Festivals, Eng. tr. Katherine Watson, London 1963, op. cit., pp. 85-94.
- 55. Masudul Hasan op. cit., p. 217.
- 56. Muhammad Munīr, Islam in History, op. cit., p. 116.
- 57. Thomas Carlyl, Hero and Hero workship, cited by M.M.Taqui Khan, Impact of Karbala on the freedom of thought in Red Sand (ed.) by Medhi Azmi, op. cit., p. 142.
- 58. Edward Gibbon, Decline and Fall of Roman Empire, ibid, p. 142.
- 59. Rabindra Nath Tagore, *Moonlight*, Lucknow, cited in *Imam*Husain Defender of the Faith, Pub. by 'Darut Tablighil

 Islami Qum', Iran (n.d.) pp. 11-12.
- 60. Jawaharlal Nehru, ibid, p. 10-11.
- 61. Mahatma Gandhi, ibid, p. 10.
- 62. Khwaja Moinduddīn Chishti, cited in Impact of Karbala on the Freedom of thought, op. cit., p. 143.
- 63. Dr. Iqbal http://www.al.Islam.org/ashura/51htm
- 64. Prof. Narang cited by Firoz Bakht Ahmad in his article, The

 Tenth day is a Day of Remembrance, The Times of India,

 New Delhi, Monday, April 17, 2000.



Tradition of martyrdom in the history of Islam is very old as well as quite established, and if it is seen in historical and religious perspective, it will be proved a world-phenomenon. Right from the beginning of human presence on this planet it's first example was set-up by the two sons of Adam, and in the history of the prophets it assumes the position of religio-prophetic phenomenon, for many prophets were assassinated in various periods of human civilization.

In the early period of Khilafat-i-Rashidah (Orthodox Khilafah), which is considered an ideal state and proverbial society as many as three Khulafa were martyred either by their coreligionists or by antagonists. Except the first Khalifah, all the three illustrious successors were killed: Hazrat Umar b. al-Khattab, the second Khalifah, by Persio-Syrain conspirator group, his martyrdom was declared by the Sahabah as the greatest tragedy of Islam; Hazrat Uthman b. Affan, the third Khalifah by the Muslim cessionist of three towns, Kufah, Basrah and Egypt, and his assassination divided the Muslim Ummah for ever, as was predicted by the martyred Khalifah himself in his warning to the assassins; Hazrat Ali b. Abi Talib, the fourth Khalifah, was annihilated by his opponents who were once his supporters; and his assassination brought the end of the ideal Islamic Khilafah.

Seen in the historical and Islamic perspective the tragedy of Karbala becomes only a historical tradition which was carried on in the later period. Of course, it was a great tragedy, which consumed a very noble soul who and his supporters bore the brunt of the ferocious attack by a huge army. Merciless killing of the helpless grandson of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and his civilians left a deep impact on the contemporary and later people who were thoroughly moved religiously as well as politically and perpetuated the memory of the great tragedy for all and for ever, although some earlier assassinations of the Khulafa particularly Uthman b. Affan was greater and more tragic in various respects.

It is an accepted fact that man is deeply impressed by the environment he lives in, and it does also shape the way of his thinking and his approach toward the events around him. The Arab writers, the Western writers and the Urdu writers of 19th and 20th century are no exception to this universal rule. We find some of them belong to the Arab countries, while others hailed from Western countries and Indian sub-continent especially from India and Pakistan. All these places are the important centers of intellectual and cultural activities. Differences of geographical divisions or political affinities had deep impact on their minds and on their attitude towards transmission of historical knowledge. Thus it has been found that some writers were deeply impressed by

the Islamic ideology, while many others were influenced by local political leanings or prejudices, sentiments, even poetic fancy, legend, exaggeration and imaginations. Similarly, Urdu writings during the 19th and 20th century of the Indian sub-continent have also framed different judgments and approaches on the event of Karbala.

Although the tragedy of Karbala has been mentioned differently by different Urdu writers, there is no doubt that it is one of the most pathetic tragedies of Islamic history. Many Urdu writers and scholars have devoted much of their energy and time in discussing this event.

Tragedy of Karbala has been a provoking issue throughout the Islamic history. From Ibn Jarir Tabari to Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi different approaches have been adopted by scholars throughout the Islamic period in expressing this tragedy. The tragedy has also generated an intensive debate since it's happening for various reasons. It was a major historical event in the Islamic world in which close relatives of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) were martyred and this happening left a deep impression on the Muslim society so much so that it can be felt even today. Although there were slight differences over the issue of Khilafah before, but the nomination of Yazid by Muawiyah as his successor and subsequent moves of Husain on the request of Kufans developed

such an alarming situation that besides high regard for the grandson of the Prophet (SAW) history makes a reference to the past record and the writer has a big say in shaping it. This reflects from the writings of the historians of Islamic history especially with reference to the episode of Karbala. The opinions of the scholars seem divided in depicting the facts and realities concerning the Karbala incident.

There are however three categories of Urdu writers who obviously are influenced by a particular school of thought and have brought forward a different picture of the whole scenario, which resulted in a varied spectrum of socio-religious consequences in the post war era.

Most of the Urdu writers went to extremes while dealing the rule of Yazid. In the same way others have dealt with the move of Husain with imbalance, while another set of Urdu writers is fair towards both the disputants and had adopted a moderate thought about the whole issue.

The approaches of these different Urdu writers regarding the tragedy of Karbala may be classified in the following three categories:

- 1. Pro Ahl- i -Bait
- 2. Pro-Khilafah
- 3. Moderate

Pro-Ahl-i-Bait

Majority of the Urdu scholars and historians have accepted the tragedy in all its ugly features depicted in the early traditions and have maintained almost a common opinion. The scholars who justify Husain's attempts and deem him fit for the Khilafah taking consideration of his organizational skill, administrative capability and political maturity, besides his moral character and ancestral superiority, declare Yazid unfit for the Khilafah, saying that he indulged in immoral acts involving moral turpitude. Moreover they regard the nomination of Yazid by Muawiyah as an act of sheer nepotism and tribal prejudice leading to hierarchy in the precedence of selection of Khilafah. The viewpoint of the pro-Ahl-i-Bait scholars is generally accepted by Muslim community.

Abul Ala Maududi opposing the entire acts of Muawiyah and his son has levelled many allegations against them. He writes that the strategy of Muawiyah of preferring politics to the religion and to use Shariah for political motives took its worst shape in the reign of Yazid. In his tenure three such incidents; assassination of Husain, battle of Harrah and stoning of the Kabah occurred, which hurt the sentiments of entire Muslim world. These incidents prove that the Umayyad rulers used all means, fair or foul for safeguarding their rule.

Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi declares Husain's uprising well planned and timely, as Yazid was not having the public mandate Husain's revolt against Yazid was quite genuine because at that time Muslims had not accepted his Khilafah. Makkah, Madinah and Kufah were the three major Muslim areas where the notable Companions of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) were living. The eminent among them were Abdullah bin Zubair, Abdullah bin Abbas, Abdullah bin Umar and Abdur Rahman bin Abu Bakr, who had not accepted Yazid as Khalifah. Neither these notables nor the people of Kufah took oath of allegiance to Yazid. Therefore it is derogatory to say that the nomination of Yazid was a settled issue at the time when Husain revolted against him. But the fact is that Yazid was not accepted as Khalifah so Husain's revolt was not only Jaiz (justified) but Mustahsan (commendable) as well. At the same time Husain was invited by Kufans as he was prominent personality among the Muslims. He was the most bound to challenge the corrupt Yazid to provide to the Muslims a justified leadership.

Anisul Hasan Hashmi and Muhammad Abdul Rahman Sayyid Siddiqui strongly defend the case of Husain for Khilafah in comparison to Yazid on the basis of their personal profile and hold that selfishness, betrayal and cunningness were the main features of Yazid. He talked absurd and indulged in the nudity and

wild entertainment, while Husain was full of abilities and character which he inherited from Hazrat Ali so he was legitimate candidate for the Khilafah from the ancestral background also. Yazid destroyed the Arabs by his cruel and destructive leadership.

Abdullah Quraishi, Shauk Amritsari and Sultan Ahmad Khan have gone to the extremes, describing Yazid as a drunkard, rapist, and master of ill deeds. They also called him as Maloon (cursed) and paleed (polluted).

Abdul Haq Dehlvi an eminent traditionalist writes that Yazid is one of the most cursed man in our view. The crimes committed by this tyrant would not have been perpetrated by any other Muslim.

Chirag Hasan Hasrat charges Yazid for engineering every incident of battle of Karbala. As per his assessment, Yazid was notorious by dint of his cruelty. Husain got martyred by his order. The sacred cities of Madinah and Makkah were raided and most revered elders were martyred by Yazid's order. It is the reason that people hate him till date.

Sayyid Amīr Ali favouring Husain has devoted more space to him in his writings and has held Yazid solely responsible for revolts and disturbances that led to sanguinary wars, which sapped the foundation of Islam. He writes that Yazid was both cruel and treacherous; his deprayed nature knew no pity or justice. His

pleasures were as degrading as his companions were low and vicious. The butchery at Karbala caused a wave of horror throughout Islamic world, and gave birth in Persia to a national sentiment which afterwards helped the descendants of Abbas to destroy the Umayyads.

Muhammad Abdul Hakim has strongly turned down the claim of Yazid on the basis that he was a man of hatred, bad character, and a drunkard having anti-religious sentiments, cruel and selfish.

Hamiduddīn narrates that Yazid felt guilty of the massacre of Karbala by means of nefarious designs of Ibn Ziyad. And says Yazid can not be spared from the accusation of murder of Husain, though the reality is that the large responsibility of this incident goes to Ibn Ziyad.

Sayyid Aulad Hyder levelling several allegations against Yazid declares him unfit for the Khilafah. As per his view, Yazid personally wanted that Husain be martyred and this wish compelled him to depute Ibn Ziyad to Karbala. His Khilafah was full of troubles and misfortunes.

Ghulam Rasul Mohr says that Yazid's rule can not be justified still there had been a number of rulers who were worse than him. He says that Yazid was in no way legitimate to be Khalifah of Muslim world. More to it Yazid witnessed two terrible

incidents during his Khilafah like the tragedy of Karbala and the massacre in Madinah. This gave a wrong signal about his Khilafah and defamed his name.

Muhammad Abdul Hai writes that Husain did not acknowledge Yazid's Khilafah and Yazid adopted the way to eliminate Husain, this defamed him to the extent that he is hated even in present times.

Sayyid Ali Naqi Naqvi says that it was Yazid who engineered the assassination of Husain. Though the people of Iraq invited Husain but they were not Shias as has been narrated by many scholars. So it is far from the reality to blame Shias for the assassination of Husian.

Munshi Muhammad Khalilur Rahman also adopts anti Yazid stand and says that Yazid was extremely disobedient who employed eunuchs at his harem. He was known by his four major sins; Martyrdom of Husain, violation of sanctity of Madinah, desecrating Kabah and tradition of introducing eunuchs.

Sayyid Nawab Ali has charged Yazid with many allegations and compared the martyrdom of Husain with the incident of Jesus Christ whose teachings were misunderstood by Jews; likewise Umayyads declared Husain a rebel and martyred him.

Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi leveling a number of allegations against Muawiyah writes that as Muawiyah was willing to confer

Khilafah to his son Yazid so he as per the fatherly affection made him his successor.

Sarwat Saulat says that Muawiyah ignored many qualified and notable personalities and nominated his son Yazid as his successor. It is still debatable whether the responsibility of assassination of Husain lies on Ibn Ziyad or Yazid. Urdu writers, like their Arabic and Persian predecessors are divided on the issue. Some hold Ibn Ziyad responsible for the tragedy while others directly blame the Umawi Khalifah.

Taha Husain blames Muawiyah for transfer of Khilafah to his son Yazid, a step favouring dynastical rule, which resulted in the most heinous crime of Husain's brutal end. Taha Husain also holds that no doubt Yazid showed his anger on the murder of Husain and declared Ibn Ziyad responsible for it, still he left Ibn Zayid without any punishment.

Yazid destroyed the Islamic setup that had got developed after life long struggle of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and Khulafa-i-Rashidin. The curse of kingship that was long buried was reborn due to the appointment of Yazid. The writer tries to convey that there was no consensus on the appointment of Yazid as Khalifah and Husain's revolt against him was natural.

Sayyidna Tahir Saifuddin raises serious objections against the personality of Yazid and declares him unfit for the Khilafah. According to him Yazid did not bear good moral character. He cannot be defended in this matter. His behaviour was same as that of his ancestors who were mostly indulging in Kufr (infidelity).

Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi advocates for a regime change in his writings, stating that the end of Khilafat-i-Rashidah and the establishment of Umayyad Khilafah laid stress on the renovation of the Muslim state. The pre-Islamic aspects which succumbed the model governance of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and Khulafai-i-Rashidin had started regenerating and the government which was run as per the rulings of Quran and Sunnah now indulged in political aspects of the governance.

Murtaza Ahmad Khan lays the responsibility of bifurcating the Ummah into different groups on Umayyads. According to him the indomitable rule of Umayyads was already being imposed on the entire empire, therefore, just after the tragedy of Karbala there was no immediate response from anywhere. Those who were concerned with the ill fate of Ahl-i-Bait developed their faith and loyalty for them. The sentiments took the shape of religious faith and a new sect of Shias was born. They declare the passion plays to mourn the tragedy of Karbala as a prayer. They consider the

cursing of Muawiyah, Yazid and Banu Umayyah as their religious duty.

Abul Kalam Azad also maintains a pro-Husain approach and writes that when conflict broke out at Karbala, Husain did not claim for the Khilafah neither he fought with such intentions. He was a sacred and innocent man who was surrounded by the enemy to capture him alive. But he never liked to compromise on his courage and freedom. So he preferred fighting to laying down the arms and made a comemorable history for the coming generations teaching a lesson that truth always triumphs and provides a firm stand against the evil.

Muhammad Sulaiman Qasmi favouring Husain's endeavour says that Husain could have averted the tragedy of Karbala by taking pledge to Yazid. But it would have diluted the mission i.e., concept of Khulafa-i-Rashidin and respect for the Khilafah.

Mohsin Usman Nadvi writes that the martyrdom of Husain has a bearing with the heavenly intentions which has a message for the entire Muslim world, to wage jihad against the fasiq and fajir with all their might on the pattern of supreme sacrifice which Husain made in fighting Yazid's forces.

Muhammaduddīn Fauq believes that Husain repudiated reign of Yazid and preferred death instead of taking oath of

allegiance before a cruel and nondescript ruler who tried to settle his Khilafah on the basis of sword and force.

Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi is of the opinion that the motivating force that made Husain to visit Karbala was his curiosity to get rid of Yazid and he fought against the cruel and nondescript reign of Yazid and lighted the candle of reality by his bravery and sincerity which will enlighten the world for ever and will guide those who will fight for the cause of justice. Husain has addressed these concerns in the sermons of Karbala and during his travel.

Sayyid Muhammad Hashim Patialvi contends that Husain intentionally did not accept Yazid as Khalifah and revolted against him. According to him Husain faced his martyrdom only because of his refusal to take oath of allegiance to Yazid. As such Husain was in no mood to take oath of allegiance to a fasiq and fajir like Yazid. He preferred to lay down his life but could not tolerate to see the reign of sacred $D\bar{\imath}n$ (religion) in the hands of Yazid, which was nourished by his grandfather Prophet Mohammad $(SAW)^2$.

Murtaza Husain Fazil says that Husain condemned the Khilafah of Yazid and declared it illegal. In this way Husain obtained an international fame by scarifying himself in the field of Karbala.³

Muhammad Tayyab while referring to Yazid says that he was not accepted by the collective opinion, neither Husain revolted against him. It was just a step for redressing the differences.

Sayyid Iqbal Ahmad Jaunpuri asserts that the revolt of Husain was not to revive the Yazid's occupation but to put an end to it.

Mufti Muhammad Shafi says that Karbala on the one hand witnessed the extremes of cruelty and hatred which a human being can not imagine, and on the other the sincerity and determination of Husain and his caravan against the false ruler.⁴

Maulana Sayyid Safi Murtaza declares the Karbala incident a move that exposed the people behind the curtains and brought forward the reality. Maulana relates Karbala with the episode of Hazrat Noah (AS) and says that as Noah differentiated between Mūminīn (believers) and opponents by boarding Mūmin in the boat and the opponents drowned in the water, in the same way Husain demarcated the right and wrong forces at Karbala.⁵

Abdul Wahid Sindhi writes that Husain refrained from accepting Yazid as Khalifah not because he wanted to acquire the throne but because he thought that Yazid was not worth a Khalifah for Muslim Ummah. The issue turned into conflict and Husain was martyred.

Abdul Majid Qadri Badayuni is of the opinion that Husain's endeavour refreshed and repeated the endurance of his grandfather Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and became eternal by attaining martyrdom. Yazid and his supporters will be cursed till the last day.⁶

Abdul Wahīd Khan writes that there was a hidden resentment against Yazid's Khilafah within the masses and Husain took bold initiative to register it. He says that Yazid was known for his wickedness. Though there was not any planned uprising against him but Muslims individually expressed their grief and sorrow on his apathy and injustice. He quotes a statement of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi:

"I say that it was the period of Hazrat Abu Bakr when sword managed to settle affairs of Khilafah. The people got disgusted and divided in the period of Hazrat Uthman and Hazrat Ali. The period of Hazrat Muawiyah and Hazrat Hasan witnessed the interior conflicts in the *Ummah*. It was Yazid's tenure when the people deviated from the right path of Islam and the trend worsened and continued till the period of Abdul Malik bin Marwan."

Khan further discusses the stand of Husain and narrates:

Husain did not surrender before the self established rule and illegitimate power of Yazid, instead he preferred martyrdom in order to keep the Khilafah alive and safeguard its interests. He

put forward his martyrdom which provided a unique example of its nature that human history has and will never equate. It will be a beacon light for the coming Muslim generations to resist the unwanted forces.

Qazi Zainul Abidīn declares Yazid as fasiq and fajir. He further asserts that there is no denying the fact that in comparison to the revered personalities like Hazrat Husain, Abdullah bin Umar, Abdullah bin Zubair, Abdur Rahman bin Abu Bakr, Yazid was insignificant. So his Khilafah was in no way suitable for pleading the great manifesto of Islam. The attempt of Husain to stand against Yazid was in accordance with the opinion of the people. If he did so to acquire the Khilafah his desire was justified.

Umar Abu-al Nasr considers Husain as the only option for Khilafah and says it is a fact that if Husain would not have revolted against Yazid even then the whole Muslim Ummah would not have accepted Yazid as Khalifah whole heartedly but if Husain would have been given a chance there would have been definitely a full mandate for him and people would have witnessed once again a Muslim state run on the pattern of Abu Bakr and Umar. Husain went to Kufah to accomplish the same where he fell in the hands of enemy and was martyred.

Sayyid Hasan has viewed that Husain's interest in Khilafah was justified. When the Islamic state witnessed a setback during Yazid's Khilafah, Husain tried to redress the problems but in the due course of time he faced the cruel forces of Yazid and was forced to fight and was martyred.

Ali Shariati, the ideologue of Iranian revolution of 1979, justifies Husain's initiatives and maintains that to take the control of the government and to establish peace and justice is the duty of Khalifah. He needs to mobilize masses and start political agitation against the cruel ruler to bring forth revolution. Dethrone him to take the empire in his hands, put an end to his rule and to give truth a chance to prevail. Shariati sums up that Husain's rising against Yazid was a revolutionary step and like other revolutions it too has two visages, blood and message.

Pro-Khilafah

Several Urdu scholars who belong to this category support the candidature of Yazid for the Khilafah, describing him as an able administrator and a generous person having firm public mandate to be nominated as the Khalifah. Consequent upon the fact, Muawiyah has been declared optimistic in his decision of nomination of his son Yazid, as it was in the larger interests of the Muslim *Ummah*. They strongly resist the moves of Husain and equate it as a rebellion against the established Khilafah of Yazid.

They also condemn Husain's uprising either as a sinful disruption of the prevailing consensus, or as an ill-considered move which was bound to end in fiasco. Such criticism of Husain's actions reproduced by the writers who fall in the pro-Khilafah category are discussed below:

Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi holds that the nomination of Yazid Khalifah was having consent of whole Ummah. appointment was not based on any conspiracy, jealousy and greed or fear, nor was it any accidental approach. It was done in the peaceful primetime with the support of the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and his Ahl-i-Bait. People from all the corners of Muslim world came in the form of delegations to take oath of allegiance (Bay'ah) to Yazid. It is said that the nomination of Yazid and ceremony of his nomination was unique of its kind, having no parallels in the past. People expressed their loyalty and took oath of allegiance to Yazid, whom they considered able guided and generous. He was beloved of all. A large number of Companions of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and Tabiun were present at the time of the nomination of Yazid. There was no doubt about the character of Yazid otherwise it would have prevented people to accept Yazid as Khalifah. On the one hand Hussian's refusal to take oath of allegiance to Yazid and on the other his

revolt on the invitation by Sabā'īs of Kufah was his independent judgment and personal act.

Muhammad Ishaq Siddiqui Nadvi is of the opinion that the tragedies that happened in the Khilafah of Yazid were not the result or causes of his nomination as Khalifah but were the result of the conspiracy of the Saba'is who were always in search of a chance to inflict pain and instability on Muslims to destabilize the whole Ummah. The appointment of Yazid by Muawiyah as Khalifah had not generated the dissent in Muslim society but it were the ill desires of Sabā'īs, who developed the differences by their highly spying attitude. The same would have happened if there would have been any other person in place of Yazid as they were not against Yazid or Muawiyah but against the whole Muslim community. They were deeply rooted in the whole establishment and played a prominent role in creating fuss within Muslims. Therefore the happening of these unwanted and tragic episodes could not be laid on the shoulders of Muawiyah or Yazid.

Bashirur Rahman Siddiqui also supports the same statement and states that the tragedy of Karbala was the outcome of the conspiracy of the archrivals of Islam, the Sabā'īs who were full of anger and were biased against Muslims. They tried their level best to seize every chance of meeting between Husain and Yazid as it would have rendered their plans ineffective. Sabā'īs played the

dual role like that of battle of camel in which they made both the parties to fight in order to fulfill their own interests.

Dr. Asrar Ahmad describing martyrdom of Husain as the last happening in the series of turmoil that Ummah has witnessed since the martyrdom of Hazrat Hamzah. Moreover, Hazrat Hamzah was highly revered martyr of Islam and was referred to as Sayyid al-Shuhada by Prophet Muhammad (SAW). The second terrible incident in the history of Ummah was that of Hazrat Umar's martyrdom and the same was the martyrdom of Hazrat Ali. There is no denying the fact that the most terrible tragedy in the history of Islam is the martyrdom of Hazrat Uthman who met the fate for no fault of his own. The people responsible for the martyrdom of Husain were actually those whose conspiracy engineered the martyrdom of Hazrat Uthman (RA) on 18 Dh ul-Hijjah 36 AH. The people who mourn over Husain's martyrdom are mostly those who are responsible for the murder of Uthman, Ali and Husain.

Arshad Amanullah shielding Yazid from the entire tragedy advocates that the tragedy of Karbala was the result of Sabā'ī conspiracy and Husain's mistake of independent judgment and Yazid has no responsibility for the incident. The root cause of the incident of Harrah were the people of Madinah but the armyed invasion on Madinah was Yazid's blunder in the exercise of judgment. He is the only Tabi who has been guaranteed Jannah by

Prophet (SAW). He further goes on to say that Banu Hashim and Banu Umayyah had relationships since long back. They used to arrange intermarriages even after the incident of Siffin and Karbala.

Shah Muhammad Abdul Shakur Farooqui blaming the Shiah sect for the Karbala tragedy says that it is enough as an evidence that the murderers of Husain were the Shias and that they lived in Kufah. To be Kufan is itself a Shiah identity. Kufans bear all the conditions necessary to be a Shiah, like mourning over the martyrdom of Husain, vociferating, beating of breasts etc. As for as the murder of Husain is concerned they attempted it in the condition of helplessness and later on begged for pardon 10.

Zafar Ahmad Sialkoti strongly resents blaming Yazid saying that Yazid had so firm faith in God that he always considered Almighty the supreme power having command on everything. So it is quite injustice and the matter of shame for those who declare him as a drunkard and level other such allegations against him.

Rashīd Ahmad Gangohi is of the opinion that Amīr Muawiyah had not any pre-decided plans to make Yazid his successor. Further, Yazid was a pious and generous man before the assignment of Khilafah and it was afterwards that he got infamy.

While discussing the mourning, Gangohi writes that the time Husain was martyred was definitely period of a shock and grief.

But it is no way justified or permitted to mourn whole life on this issue¹¹.

M.Y.M. Siddiqui taking into consideration whole scenario of the tragedy of Karbala concludes that the differences between Husain (Hashmi) and the Umavi Yazid bin Muawiyah often put forward as long pending earlier tribal jealousy and bias between Banu Hashim and Banu Umayyah, is absolutely wrong because it was a political conflict based on Husain's independent judgment and personal perception. Except few sons and family members of Husain all other eminent people of Banu Hashim did not agree with him in this matter. It is because of this reason that Hazrat Abdullah bin Jafar, Abdullah bin Abbas, Muhammad bin al-Hanafiya and all elders and youth of Banu Hashim took oath of allegiance to Yazid and considered his Khilafah genuine. Therefore, there was not any family—based reason behind the tragedy of Karbala. It was only Husain's curiosity for the Khilafah, which created the whole tension.

Hafiz Salahuddin Yousuf is of the opinion that Yazid did not order murder of Husain nor was it in his consideration. He respected him as per the advice of his father, Muawiyah. Husain's martyrdom was one of the great sins. Those who favoured it or participated in it or were pleased by it, were supposed to get punishment as per the Shariah. But Husain's martyrdom is not as

great sin as that of Anbiya (Prophets), Muminīn (believers),
Awwalīn (premiers), Shuhada-i- Yamamah (martyrs of Yamamah),
Shuhadah-i- Uhd (martyrs of Uhd), Hazrat Uthman and Hazrat Ali.

Mir Mahmud Ali Qaisar writes that the awareness about the tragedy of Karbala makes it evident that Husain's murder was not due to direct fight with the government forces and if it would have happened, then Husain would have been called a rebel and that would have been a blame on him. Although he had rolled back his mission but the dual nature of Kufans played crucial role in cancellation of rolling back.

Ali Ahmad Banarsi declares Husain's revolt illegitimate and holds that none of the Companions of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) favoured Husain. Though there were a large number of Sahabah in Hijaz, Basrah, Kufah and Egypt present at that time but no one among them stood against Yazid. Even among the fifteen children of Hazrat Ali only four supported Husain and remaining eleven refused to revolt against Yazid. Even Muhammad bin Hanafiya was compelled to participate but he refused this offer vehemently.

Muhammad Taqi Usmani came to the conclusion that the nomination of Yazid by Muawiyah was done in quite conformity with the Islamic law as well as political sagacity; it was in fact in the best interests of the Islamic Ummah and no ulterior motive can be ascribed to Hazrat Muawiyah. The best proof of the legitimacy

of the nomination of Yazid is found in the consensus of the Sahabah and other notables of the *Ummah*.

Moderate

The scholars of this category maintain a moderate view holding the claim of Yazid for Khilafah on the one hand and on the other declare Husain innocently trapped in the net due to the betrayal of Kufans who gave a serious setback to the Muslim community by their nefarious designs, conspiracy, bias and favoritism. Moderate scholars and historians have put forward the reservations from both the sides at the specific junctions, where one seems to exceed the powers and impose his own will ignoring the consultations and the time specific needs that would have avoided the conflict and the evil impacts thereafter.

Atique Rahman Sambhali neutralizing this most sensitive issue, describes it as the outcome of heavenly settlements which was pre-decided. The destiny of Husain guided his way to Karbala and hard luck of Ibn Ziyad made him harsh to take advantage of this mischievous act. This all happened according to the will of Allah.

Wahtduddin Khan drawing the parallels between the two brothers says that Hasan and Husain had two different tastes and that one chose the way of peace and the other the way of war. Therefore Hasan and Husain are two role models for Muslim

Ummah with two different perspectives. Husain apparently gave no benefit to the nation and created an atmosphere of internal conflicts causing bloodshed, while Hasan served Islam with his highly responsive and sensible generosity giving a lot of benefit to the Ummah.¹²

Sa'eedur Rahman Alvi justifies the act of Yazid of not condemning Ibn Ziyad for this heinous act considering punishment of Ibn Ziyad impossible. Ibn Ziyad was accompanied by Shias of Kufah and they were equally responsible and deserved punishment. But giving punishment to Ibn Ziyad and Shias of Kufah would have given birth to a rebellion against Yazid.

Abdur Rahman Khan absolving Yazid of the crime says he alone was not responsible for the assassination of Husain but Iraqis (Shian -i- Ali) are to be blamed as well.

Aslam Jairajpuri highlights the misjudgment of Husain by saying that the people of Iraq were not trustworthy. Even Hazrat Ali was fed up by their disobedience and prayed to Allah for saving every one from their Fitna. They took oath of allegiance to Hasan but deserted him on the battle field when Syrian army attacked. Husain trusted them, left Makkah for Kufah but on approaching them he realized that they deceived him too and decided to return back but Ibn Ziyad insisted him to take oath of allegiance to Yazid, which Husain strongly resented and made him

to fight at the cost of his life. The eminent personalities of Quraish such as Abdullah bin Abbas were aware about the Kufi character so they tried their level best to prevent Husain from visiting Kufah.

Shah Abdul Aziz blaming the Shiahs of Iraq writes that the responsibility of Husain's murder is on the shoulders of the Shias of Kufah who strongly insisted Husain by making repeated requests and addressing letters requesting him to visit Kufah, but betrayed him at the time of war. They left Husain, who was accompanied by his family members comprising women and children alone against the strong army of the enemy and gave them an easy access to attempt the murder of Husain. Some of them even merged with the enemy and martyred the nears and dears of Husain. The infants of the caravan succumbed to thirst crying for the water that no one offered. Therefore the whole tragedy was the handwork of the betrayal of Kufans. The author further writes that Husain had no desire for the Khilafah, but he went to Kufah to prevent the people from the oppression of the emperor and considered it a religious obligation (wajib). 13

Moinuddin Ahmad Nadvi lays the responsibility of the destruction of Madinah on the people of Madinah as they were aware of the fact that their refusal to oath of allegiance to Yazid would be a cause for their destruction. Had they taken the oath of

allegiance, it would not have happened. However, he enlisted the assassination of Husain, destruction of Madinah and violation of sanctity of Kabah as evil achievements of Yazid's Khilafah. Still in defense of Yazid, Nadvi says that he did achieve certain things which were of national interest. He put an end to internal rebellions and won many conquests.

Abdul Qayoom Nadvi says that the tragedy of Karbala tarnished Yazid's image, otherwise he was a master of some novel qualities like bravery, sincerity, patience and equality, which enabled him to expand the Islamic empire.

Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi clearly maintains that the hereditary succession always followed in the political succession of all the posts of the Quraish, the senate of the Quraish of Makkah in the pre-Islamic period and in other political and tribal institutions.

Urdu translations of Arabic works

The Arab writers with different approaches have also given different views regarding the tragedy of Karbala. They have formed judgments by observing character of Yazid and Husain. Like the Urdu writers, the Arab writers can be divided into three categories. Some writers favour and praise Husain, while some condemn his uprising as a sinful disruption of the prevailing consensus. There is a third group who is fair towards both the disputants and has maintained a balance in its writings.

The views of prominent Arab writers and historians regarding the tragedy of Karbala are examined in this thesis. They have been made part of the present study because of their immense role in shaping the views of Urdu writers. Views of some prominent Arab writers regarding the tragedy of Karbala are discussed below.

Pro-Ahl-i-Bait

Lut ibn Yahya bin Said b. Mikhnaf (d. 157/774), One of the earliest Arabic traditionalists and historians has pro-Alid and Iraqi sympathies. He is a Kufi historian and belongs to the tribe of Azd. He is credited in the *fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim with more than thirty monographs of Syria and Iraq and on subjects such as civil wars, the battle of Harrah and on deaths of persons such as Ali, Muawiyah, Husain etc. In his reports he leans heavily towards his tribe, Azd and his own family members who were active supporters of the Alid cause. His treatment of events such as Siffin, Karbala and al-Harrah is hostile towards the Umayyads for many reasons. His authorities for Siffin, the episode of Muslim bin Aquil and Karbala are by and large Kufi but they are occasionally supplemented by Syrian and Madinese reports. However largely he presents Iraqi or Kufi point of view in his historical narrations. Abu Mikhnaf is strongly inclined and tilted towards Iraq and Alids. His treatment of Ibn Zubair is however balanced. 14

Jalal al-Din Abdul Rahman al-Suyuti (d. 911/505), has set up in his book History of the Caliphs (Tarikh al-Khulafa) two separate chapters one of which is concerning the traditions cautioning against the Umayyad Khilafah and the other is concerning the traditions announcing glad tidings of the Abbasid Khilafah. Traditions describing the Umayyad Khilafah as kingship and the Umayyad Khulafa as Kings from among the worst Kings (Muluk min Sharr al Muluk). He like Masudi excludes the Umayyad rule from the definition of the Khilafah. 15

Abul Hasan Ali ibn al-Husain al-Masudi (d. 345/956), a renowned historian and a scholar of the fourth century in his Muruj al- Dhahab expresses a strong pro-Alid sympathy. Masudi's information on the Alids is reported on the authority of the men with Shiite inclinations. One can also find in Masudi's Muruj clear anti-Umayyad feelings. Masudi counts Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, Ali and Hasan and the Abbasid rulers as genuine Khalifahs and uses for them the title of Khalifah, the term Khilafah and dazzling empire. While as he did not use the title of Khalifah or the term Khilafah for the Umayyad rulers except in case of Umar bin Abdul Aziz (d.102/720). 16

Muhammad bin Ali bin Tabataba bin Tiqtiqa (d.709/1309), salutes the courage of Husain and his followers and says that Husain put forward the unique example of patience, bravery, piety

etc. that has no parallel in the history of world. In the same way his companions proved their worth by fighting against the enemy at the cost of their lives.

Izzuddin Ali bin Muhmmad Ibn Athīr (630/1233), in his Al-Kamil has given detail of the tragedy of Karbala and the incident of Harrah. There is a reference to Yazid taking liquor and also presenting liquor to Husain with his utmost insistence. It seems that he had not given up drinking even in Madinah. Once when Abdullah ibn Abbas and Husain went to meet Yazid in a party, the liquor was concealed to prevent Ibn Abbas from smelling it. Later Husain was called and the drinks were offered which he denied. Then Yazid recited verses related to maids etc. In this way Yazid won notoriety for addiction to liquor and because of this Abdullah bin Zubair named him Sukran (dead drunk).

Muhammad ibn Jarir Tabari (d. 310/923), another renowned historian has depicted the ill-treatment of Yazid and his followers, their humiliating response with Husain's teeth and its condemnation by Abu Barzah, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW). Moreover the report of that delegation of Madinites who returned from Yazid was as follows:

"We have returned from that man who is unaware of the religion, drunkard, playing with musical instruments, plays with

dogs, wastes time in leisure works. We will suspend him on reaching Madinah."17

Pro-Khilafah

Abu Bakr Ibn al-Arabi (d.543/1148), tries to bring discredit to Husain's uprising by arguing that Yazid was an honest and pious man, and Husain revolted against him contrary to the will of distinguished Companions of the Prophet (SAW) as Ibn Abbas, Ibn Umar and his own brother Ibn Hanafiyah; he wonders how Husain could have preferred the wishes of riff-raff (awbash) of Kufah to the counsel of these dignitaries. Ibn al-Arabi concludes that Yazid's reaction against Husain was merely an application of the law laid down by Husain's own grandfather, the Prophet Muhammad (SAW), which prescribes the severe punishment of all those subverting the unity and peace of the Muslim community. 18

Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali (450-505/1058-1111), certifies Yazid as a true Muslim and does not accept the charge that Yazid was implicated in the killing of Husain. Ghazali further writes:

"One who thinks that Yazid has ordered the murder of Husain is a stupid. It is such an incident the details of which can not be ascertained as the reality remains hidden behind the curtains of bias. In such a situation Muslims need to permit themselves to be highly optimistic." 19

Abul Abbas Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Baladhuri (d. 279/892), is one of the prominent Arabic historians whose book Ansab al Ashraf is a rich and valuable source for the history of Umayyad period. Over a third of the manuscript is devoted to the Umayyad history. Baladhuri is one of the few to deal objectively with the Umayyads. While dealing the topic of Yazid Baladhuri writes:

"Muawiyah was not at par with his predecessors but none of his successors was as good as Muawiyah. May God bless him. Muawiyah's son Yazid was really a pious and good fellow in his family."²⁰

Moderate

Ahmad al-Yaqub (Yaqubi) (d. 284/897), an Arab historian and geographer adopts a moderate pro-Alid sympathy, which sometimes turns anti-Umayyad.²¹

Abdul Rahman bin Muhammad ibn Khaldun (d.804/1406), shares moderate ideology. His approach is of a different kind as he asserts that rebellion against Yazid was justified because of his wickedness. Husain was, therefore, right in registering a revolt against Yazid as a duty incumbent on those who had the power to execute it. But he thinks that Husain was wrong in confusing his qualifications with his power. His qualifications were as good as he thought, and better, but he was mistaken as to his strength. Yazid on the other hand, was wrong in trying to justify his actions

against Husain by arguing that he was fighting evildoers because any such action should be undertaken only by a just ruler, which he was not.²²

Muhammad Ibn Umar al-Waqidi (d. 208/822), deals with Islamic history as a whole, yet he pays special attention to Maghazi, riddah, battles of Jamal, Siffin and the conquests of Syria and Iraq. He is widely known for his book on the Maghazi of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW). Al-Baladhuri and Tabari quote him extensively for the early Khilafah and the Umayyad period. Al-Waqidi has mild Alid leaning, still he is far from prejudices. If Waqidi on the one hand, composed monographs on the birth of Hasan and Husain and the killing of Husain, then on the other hand he did not suppress reports hostile to Husain. His treatment of Ibn Zubair is generally fair and sometimes brings up some reports which favour Ibn Zubair and run against Yazid. Waqidi on the authority of Abu Jafar al-Bakir holds that the first person who covered the Kabah with silk brocade was Yazid bin Muawiyah.²³

Ismail bin Umar Ibn Kathir (d.774/1373), has referred to Umavi period and his book Tarikh al-Rasul wa al-Muluk is having frequent praise for Banu Umayyah. But at the same time his book is full of their troubles and tragedies as well. He has described Yazid as a capable and gentle ruler besides clearly reporting him

as an entertainer, drunkard etc. Regarding Husain's assassination he has said that neither Yazid ordered it nor regretted.

Ahmad bin Abdul Halim Ibn Taimiya (d.652/1254), is also impartial towards both the disputants. He writes:

"To make any objection against Yazid to be an authoritative ruler is same as to challenge the Khilafah of Abu Bakr (RA), Umar (RA) and Uthman (RA) and the kingship of Qaisar and Kisra. So Yazid was one among the Muslim rulers". Regarding Husain he writes:

"Husain's act was not a right step, but since he was killed innocently he died a martyr's death. So throughout the Muslim world there was sympathy and a high regard for Husain. Husain was martyred in the same way as other Salihīn (eminent) of high profile were martyred. The murder of Husain is just disobedience to Allah and His Prophet (SAW); whoever did it or participated in the dealing is sinful. But Husain's murder is in no way more sinful or trouble giving than those Prophets (AS) who got martyred by Bani Israil. In the same way the murder of Uthman (RA) and Ali (RA) is more sinful and a great loss for Ummah than that of Husain. Therefore whatever may be the intensity of these incidents it is better to tolerate them and to recite 'inna lillahi wa inna ilaihi raji'oon' (To Allah do we belong and to Him shall we return) because it is desirable to Allah."24

Ahmad bin Muhammad Ibn Khallikan (d681/1281), adopts the mid way when he says that if the Umayyads impiously murdered the son of the Prophet's daughter and have regretted to have borne no share in his murder but whether it be true or not is known to Allah alone.²⁵

Anyone who studies closely the history of life of Hazrat Husain and Yazid and the conditions that prevailed at that time and analyzes this event of Islamic history objectively will have no doubt that in those circumstances there was no choice before Husain but to get killed. Had Ibn Ziyad accepted the proposal of return of Husain, the terrible incident of Karbala would not have occurred and the circumstances would have been altogether different. Secondly, it centers on the misleading invitation made to Husain and his subsequent betrayal by the people of Kufah. Thus, it is felt that betrayal of Kufans is a repetition of their treatment with Hazrat Ali and Hazrat Hasan.

To cite historical parallel, when the people of Jerusalem agreed to surrender in front of the Muslim army, provided the document of treaty was signed by the Khalifah Hazrat Umar Farooq (RA) himself, who had to go to Jerusalem from Jabiyah for this purpose alone. Very properly, had Husain insisted on Yazid's coming to Kufah to sign any treaty but, on the contrary, he had expressed his willingness to be taken to Yazid to Damascus. Even

Ibn Ziyad might possibly have accepted the proposal of Husain, had not Shimr volunteered at the psychological moment to perform this nefarious deed.

The tragedy of Karbala would not have taken place if Hadrat Uthman (RA) had not been assassinated. If Hazrat Uthman had not been assassinated and had died a natural death, he was likely to be succeeded by Hadrat Ali. In that case there would have been no Ali-Muawiyah conflict, as the conflict merely arose because of the demand for the vengeance for the killers of Hazrat Uthman. Hazrat Ali also would not have been assassinated and the Umayyads would not have come into power. As such there would have been no historical setting and back ground for the tragedy of Karbala. But in history ifs and buts have no place. However, it is a historical fact that the tragedy of Karbala was a dreadful culmination of the ugly political developments that first caused the assassination of the third Khalifah of Islam and later divided the Ummah into a number of factions whose real motives and designs were not in the best interests of Islam and Muslims.

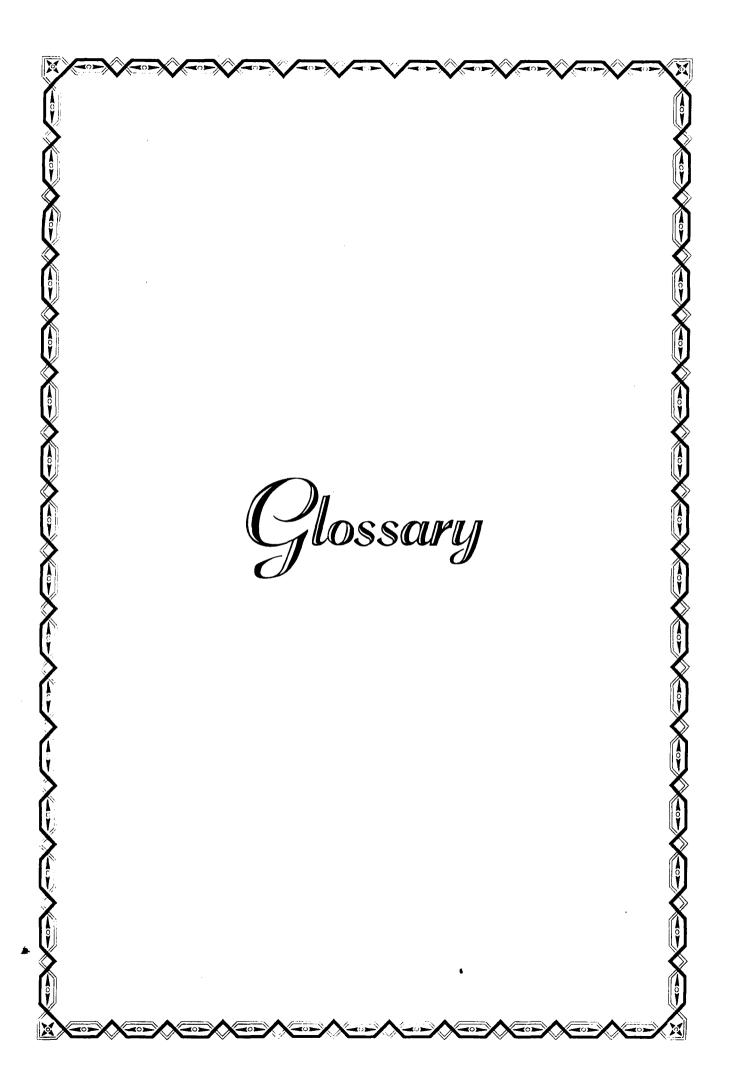
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GLOSSARY

Adyān

(plural of Dīn) Religions

Afdhal

Superior

Afsanah

Fiction

Ahādīth

(Plural of Hadith) sayings of Prophet

Muhammad (SAW)

Ahkām-i-Ilahi

Commands of Allah

Ahl al-Hadīth

A group of Muslims who followed Hadith

and Sunnah of the Prophet (SAW) directly.

It is against the following of any juristic

school of Muslim thought.

Ahl al-Hall wa

Those who loosen and bind: influential

al-Aqd

people; the qualified representatives of the

Muslim community who act on their behalf

in appointing and deposing a ruler

(Khalifah)

Ahl al-Rai

People of opinion

Ahl al-Sannah

People of tradition and majority

wal jammah

Ahl al-Sunnah

Sunnis

Ahl-i- Bait

Family of the Prophet (SAW)

Akhlaq

Manners

Āl

Family, people

Alam

A standard or ensign. A term used for the

flags and standards paraded during the

Muharram.

Ālim

(ahl-i-'ilm) learned man, sage, Muslim

Theologian or learned in Islamic Science.

Al-Khatib al-

Nice orator

Ashdaq

Allāma

Savant, very learned person

Amal

Deed, practice

Amān

Safety

Amār al-

Commander of the faithful; the title was

Muminīn

adopted by the second Khalifah, Umar Bin

Khattab (RA), and subsequently it was

exclusively reserved for the Caliph.

Āmil

Commander

Amīr

Commander, ruler of Muslims

Amīr al-

Commander of Faithful (a title to Caliph)

Muminīn

Amlī

Practical

Amn

Peace

Amr

Command, order

Amr bil

Enjoining Virture and Forbidding Vice.

Ma'rūf wa

Nahy an al-

Munkar

Anbiyā' (Plural of Nabi) Prophets, Allah's

apostles.

Ansar The helpers: The Madinan followers of the

Prophet (SAW) who joined with Makkan

Muslim followers in establishing the

Ummah.

Asbab Causes responsible

Asbab-i- Causes responsible for Mutiny or revolt.

Baghawat

Asharah The ten companions declared by the

Mubasharah Prophet (SAW) as the people of Paradise

during their lifetime.

Aslāf Ancestors

Asr The afternoon prayer

Awliyā (Pl. of Wali) holy men

Awwalīn The premiers

Āzad Independent

Baghi

Rebel

Banat

(Plural of Bint) Daughters, Girls

Banu Abbas

Abbasid Dynasty

Banu

Umayyad Dynasty

Umayyah

Bay 'ah

Contract, agreement, oath of allegiance to

a ruler, especially a Khalifah, pledge.

Bay'ah al-

General oath of allegiance

Ammah

Bismillah

In the name of Allah used before starting a work by Muslims. The term is also used in spoken Bismillah Karna means to start.

Chehlum

The fortieth day.

Cheshma

Spring

Chishtiyyah

One of the most popular and influential Sufi order or Silsilah of India. It derives its name from Chisht, a village near Harat, where the real founder of the order: Khwaja Abu Ishaque of Syria settled as the instance of his spiritual mentor, Khwaja Mamshād of Dinawari (a place in Kohistan, between Hamdan and Baghdad). Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti brought the order to India in the 12th century and established a Chishti mystic centre at Ajmir.

Dīn

Faith or Religion

Dīvān

Collected odes of single poet with all pieces alphabetically arranged according to last letter of couplets.

Fajir

(antagonist)

Faqih

(pl. Fuqaha) A Specialist in Islamic jurisprudence

Fasig

(Sinful) A term used for a reprobate person who neglects decorum in his dress and behavior.

Fata al-Arab

Hero of the Arabs

Figaha

(Sing. Faqih) jurists, experts in fiqh or in understanding of the law.

Figh

(Colloquial of Fiqah) Literally the word means 'knowledge', 'understanding' and 'comprehension'. It is, however, the name given to jurisprudence in Islam, which covers all aspects of the Muslims collective and individual life.

Fitna

(singular Fitan) seditions, commotions, crisis.

Furgan

Holy Qur'an (as distinguisting truth from falsehood)

Hadith

Tradition of Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAW) (Both sayings and doings), being an account of what the Prophet said or did, or of his tacit approved of some thing said or done in his presence.

Haditha

Tragedy

Hāfiz

One who memorizes or knows the Holy Qur'an by heart is called Hafiz.

Hajj

Seasonal pilgrimage to Makkah, Arafat and Mina, during the second week of the month of Dhi al-Qadah the eleventh month of Hijrah calendar, one of the five pillars of Islam

Hanafi

One of the schools of Muslim Law. Hanafi known after the name of Imam Abu Hanifah (700-767)

Hanbali

One of the four main schools of Muslim thought. Hanbali known after the name of Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal (780-855)

Haqiqa

The reality

Haram

Sacred

Hazrat

Honorific word

Hijrah

Emigration of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) from Makkah to Madinah (in 622AD. the year from which Muslim era *Hijri Era* begins).

Hikāyat

Tales or Fables

Ibn

Son

Id (Eid)

Muslim Festival observed or celebrated twice in a year. Firstly, festival marking the end of the month Ramdhan al-Mubarak is called 'Id al-Fitr and secondly, festival marking the completion of Hajj rites on tenth of Dh ul-Hijjah as festival commemorating Prophet Abraham's (AS) sacrifice of his son Prophet Ismail (AS), known by 'Id al- Adha.

Ihram

Lit. "Prohibiting". The pilgrims dress, and also the state in which the pilgrim is held to be from the time he assumes this distinctive garb until he lays it aside.

Ijtima

Meeting or convene

Imām

Religious leader or Guide

Imān

Faith, Belief, Trustworthiness

Jafari

The followers of Imam Jafar Sadiq (Shias)

Jahil

Ignorant

Jahiliyyah

Period of ignorance, the pre-Islamic

period of Arab history

Jaiz

(Permissible), justified

Jamāh

United people, majority

Jannah

(pl. Jannat) lit. "A garden", Heaven,

Paradise.

Jihad

Striving; individually or collectively,

towards the attainment of spiritual and

religious perfection; military action to

defend Islam.

Jumaʻ

Friday

Kabah

House of Allah, situated in the centre of

the great Mosque 'Masjid al-Haram' in

Makkah al-Mukaramah

Kafir

Unbeliever, infidel

Kalimah

The basic fundamental of Islam. There is

no God but Allah and Muhammad (SAW)

is his Messenger

Khalaif

(Sing. Khalifah) Successor. The term is

used at several places in the Quran for the

succession of the people

Khalifah

Caliph

Khanqah Monastery

Khilafah Caliphate

Khilafat-i- The right guided Khilafah, the period of

Rashidah the first four Caliphs of Islam.

Khulafa Caliphs

Kuffar The non believers

Kufr Literally "that which covers the Truth".

Infidelity, disbelieving in the Quran or in

any tenets of the Muslim religion.

Madhahib Religions, schools of thought.

Madhhab (Plural Madhahib)

Mahal Palace

Maktubāt Letters

Mal'oon Cursed

Malik King

Maliki School of thought known after the name of

Imam Malik bin Anas (715-795)

Masum Infallible

Mauduh Fabricated

Millah Muslim Nation

Minhaj al- Prophetic succession, especially used for

Nubuwwah the Khilafah of Abu Bakr and Umar (RA).

Mu'min (pl. Mu'minūn), from Iman, faith. One

who believes.

Mu'minūn The believers

Mufasirin (pl. of Mufassir)

Mufassir Writer of Qur'anic exegesis

Mufdul Inferior

Mukhtasar Concise, brief

Muluk min Kings from amongst the worst kings.

Sharr al-

Muluk

Mulukiah Monarch, kingship

Muntakhab Selected, chosen

Mustahab Desirable, commendable

Mustahsan Commendable

Nabi A prophet. One who has received direct

inspiration (Wahy) from Allah.

Nadvi Suffix used by the graduates of Nadvatal

'Ulama to their names.

Nasb Geneology, lineage.

Nubuwah Prophethood

Paleed Polluted

Qarn Period

Qisas Punishment of the assassins, to avenge for

a harm done to some one.

Qiyamah Literally "the standing up". The Day of

Resurrection.

Radi Allah May God be pleased with him, phrase said

anhu after mentioning the name of some one

who is dead.

Rasūl Messenger. A prophet entrusted with a

special divine message for humanity,

Apostle.

Rawdah khani Recitation of the sufferings of martyrs.

Risala Magazine, Brochure, letter; Treatise

Sahabah Companions of the Prophet (SAW)

Sahih Correct

Salah Prayer, five times prayer

Salāt Prayer, Divine service, Ritual prayer

Salātul Asr Late afternoon prayer

Saqifah A place where Hazrat Abu Bakr was

elected as a Caliph.

Sayyid al- The greatest martyr

Shuhada

Shafi One of the schools of Muslim thought

known after the name of Imam Muhammad

bin Idrīs al-Shafi' (767-820AH)

Shahīd Martyr

Shari'ah The law, including both the teaching of

the Quran and of the traditional sayings of

Prophet (SAW)

She'r Couplet of poetry

Shuhada-i- Martyrs of Uhd

'Uhd

Shuhada-i- Martyrs of Yamamah

Yamamah

Shurā Council, an apex body of an organisation

or administration; advisory committee

Sīrah Biography of Prophet Muhammad (SAW)

Siyāsat Politics

Solihīn Eminent, right ones

Sunnah (plural of Sunnat) practice of the Holy

Prophet (SAW) or Religious rite ordained

by the Holy prophet (SAW)

Sunni Orthodox Muslim (as people following of

the Holy Prophet's practice and

commanding a majority)

Ta'ziya

Lit. "A consolation". A representation or model of the tomb of Hasan and Husain at Karbala, carried in procession at the Muharram by the Shiahs.

Tabi'un

(plural of Tabi). Those who conversed with the Companion or Associates of Prophet Muhammad (SAW). The traditions which they related are of high authority and form part of the Sunnah or traditional law.

Tahkim

Arbitration, Arbitration between Hazrat
Ali and Hazrat Muawiyah in which Hazrat
Abu Musa Ashari and Hazrat Amr b alĀs were made as arbiters (hakam)

Tarikh

History

Tawwabin

(Sing. Tawwab) "One who turns frequently", hence the relenting, repenters.

Uhd

A hill about three miles distant from Madinah. Celebrated for the battle fought by Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and the victory gained over the Muslim by Ouraish, A.H.3.

'Ulama

Divines, scholars, learned men, sages

'Ulum

Sciences, Learning

Ummah

Community

Umrah

A lesser pilgrimage, or a visitation to the sacred mosque at Makkah, with the ceremonies of encompassing the Kabah and running between al-Marwah and as-Safa, but omitting the sacrifice. It is a meritorious act, but it has not the supposed merit of the Hajj or pilgrimage. It can be performed at any time except the eight, ninth, and tenth days of the month Dh ul-Hijjah, these being the days of the hajj or greater pilgrimage.

Wajib

Lit. "that which is obligatory". A term used in Islamic law for those injunctions, the non-observance of which constitutes sin, but the denial which does not attain to downright infidelity. For example, the sacrifice (on the day of Eid al-Adha) being Wajib, whilst the fast is farz.

Wali al-ahd

Crown prince

Wāqi'ah

Incident or memories

Waritha

Inheritors

Wasi

Follower, successor

Yahudi

Jew or Jewish

Zangir Zani

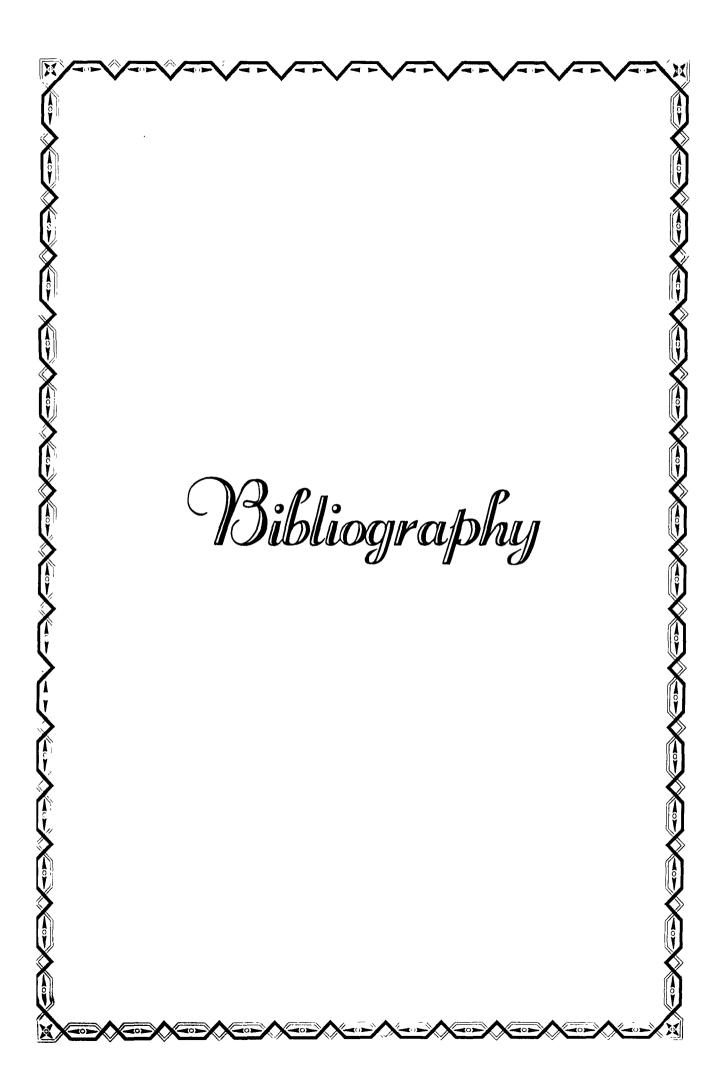
Self-flagellation

Zawāl

Decline

Zimmi

Protected non-Muslim



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